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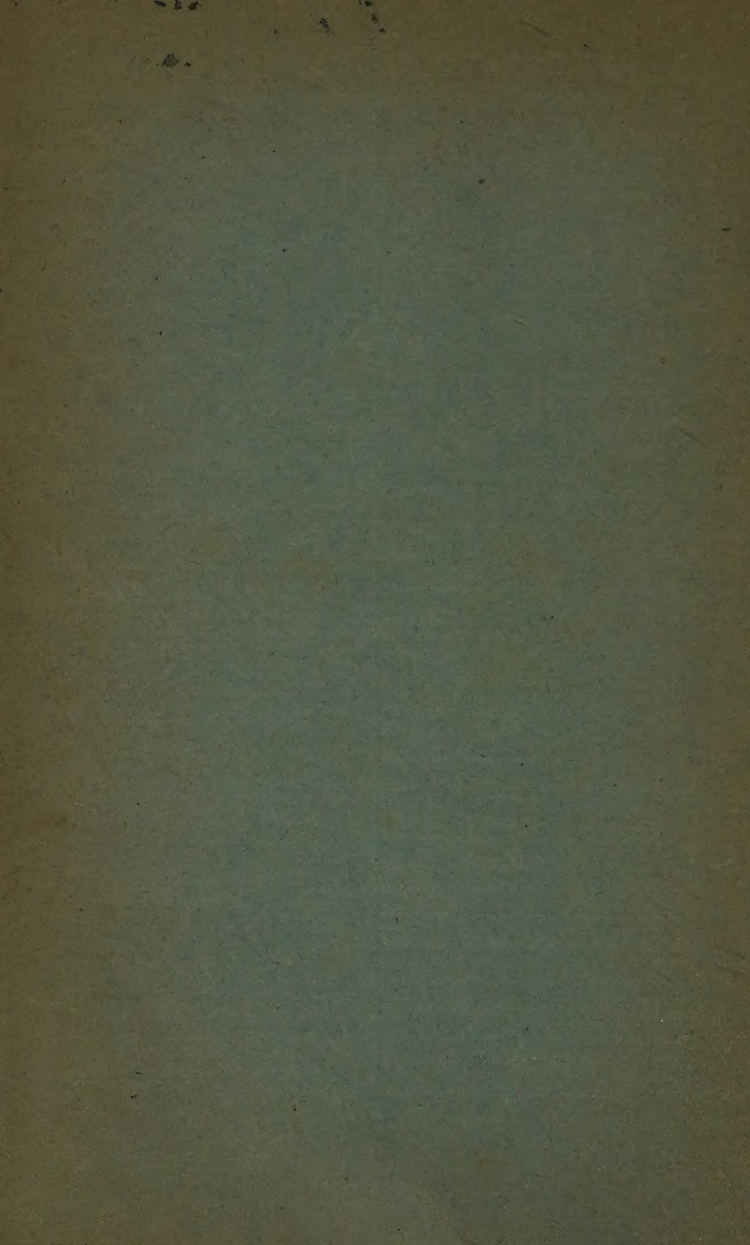
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By F. YORK POWELL, M.A.

PART II.

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FOR THE USE OF MIDDLE FORMS OF SCHOOLS

BY

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NEW EDITION, REVISED

RIVINGTONS

WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON

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PREFACE

THIS History of England was planned and has been written with an especial view to its use in Schools, and among younger students who read the subject. It contains, *first*, a connected relation of the main facts of the *political* and *constitutional* history in due chronological order; *secondly*, a sketch as thorough as space would allow, of the course and progress of the *language, literature, and social life* of the English people, in a series of chapters at the end of the various periods into which the history naturally falls. While I have not shrunk from noticing institutions and events for the full understanding of which the beginner may require the teacher's oral help; and while I have thought it well to give the most dramatic and pathetic incidents of the story wherever I could in the very words of a contemporary authority, I have nevertheless tried to write in a simple, straightforward style, and have added a brief glossary of those few unusual or technical words I have been unable to avoid, or explain in the text.

Maps, Plans, Tables, and Pedigrees have been supplied in sufficient detail to enable the reader to get a true idea of the relative positions of the persons or places named in the text.

To the counsels of friends at present engaged in active

school work I have everywhere tried to pay attention ; but no matter how carefully prepared a text-book may be, the results to be gained from its use must chiefly depend upon the teacher, and those who have taught history themselves will know that it is an exceptionally hard subject to deal with satisfactorily.

It is neither customary nor needful to give a list of the books used in preparing such a work as this. It will be enough, I hope, for me to say that I have written it from the main original documents upon which our knowledge of English history must depend, though I have not, of course, omitted to consult modern writers. Those of my friends to whom I owe special gratitude for help or advice should know that I feel it, though their names are not recorded here.

The Index will give the main references, and the headings affixed to each section will be found to yield a running epitome of the contents of the book.

This first part, for which I alone am responsible, ends with the death of Henry VII. : this I regard as essentially a deep dividing line in the history of this country. The second part, on the same plan and scale, Mr. Mackay, Professor of Modern History in Liverpool College, has been for some time engaged upon. Although each part is complete in itself, the two in one volume form a complete History of England.

The present edition has been revised throughout.

F. Y. P.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

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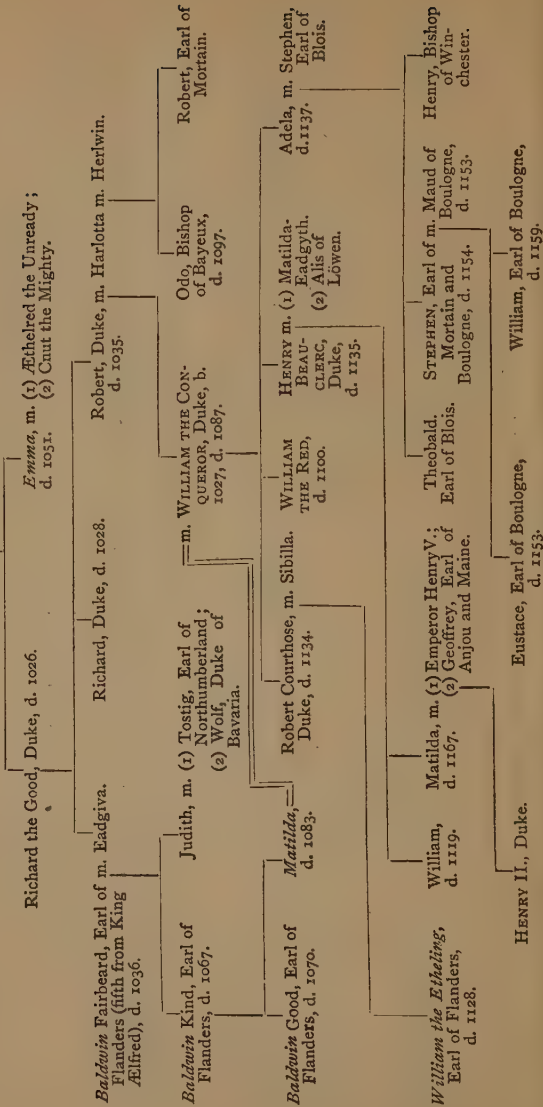
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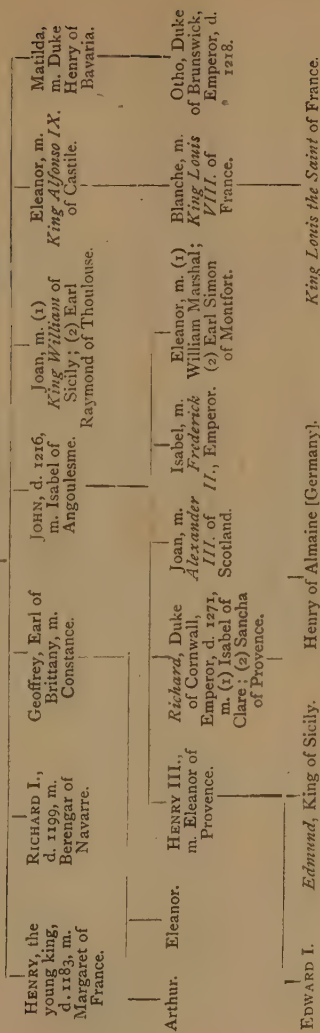
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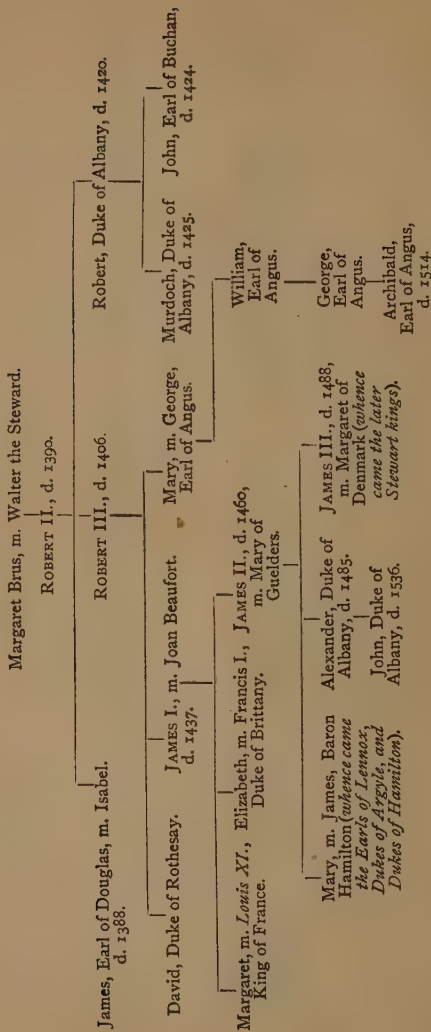
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THE EARLY STEWART KINGS.



BOOK I.

THE OLD ENGLISH.

CHAPTER I.

Britain and the Britons.

1. The first people we know to have lived in our island were but a few families of wandering savages of the lowest type and intelligence, who picked up a wretched livelihood by the banks of our southern and eastern rivers, where their remains and the rude flint chips which served them for tools and weapons are sometimes found. In their day the climate was far colder than it is now; there were great glaciers stretching over the higher valleys, where the musk ox and the Arctic fox found their food. In the wild wooded plains and moors below lived herds of deer, the wild bull, the giant elk, the wild horse, and their enemies the cave-lion, the cave-bear, and the hyena, while the swamps and lowlands by the river mouths were haunted by many kinds of river-horse, rhinoceros, and elephant.

But when our history really begins, the climate had become warmer, the glaciers had melted away, People of Albion and Erin. and the little savages and the huge beasts they had hunted or fled from had alike died out. In their place was a new race of men, wiser, stronger, and more numerous, who had come from the south over the sea, and spread over the plains of Albion and Erin. As yet we know little about these people, though it is certain that many of us now living in England are come of their blood.

They were short of stature, with long narrow heads, large jaws, and high cheekbones; their hair, worn long and unkempt or knotted above their heads, was dark. Their clothing was of roughly-dressed skins, but they painted their faces and bodies with red ochre and blue woad juice, and decked

themselves with beads of stone and shell and jet. Their tools and weapons, axes, knives, and darts, were made of stone, wood, or bone. They made rough clay vessels which would carry water but could not stand the fire. They kept dogs, and lived mostly by hunting (for they never tilled the ground, and for a long time had no cattle) or on the wild fruits and herbs of the forests, or the shellfish on the shore. They used to make a kind of *pemmican* of venison and wild berries which could be stored for some time. Some of them were cannibals, although there was still no lack of game, wild cattle, beavers, bears, and many birds and beasts besides those we now have.

Their dwellings were caves or earth-houses of one room, with a long low passage leading to it through which the family that lived therein could creep in or out. The long egg-shaped *barrows* so common in many parts of England are the graves of the chiefs of this people, and we find in them the ashes of the dead and ornaments and weapons put there for the use of their spirits, often, too, the remains of the funeral feast. If the great stone monuments such as the Avenues of Carnac and the Rings at Avebury be the work of this people, they must have had a religion strong enough to bring them together in great numbers to set up such huge works. The Irish stories always talk of them as wizards using charms and poisoned weapons and enchantments. Among the few relics of their language are the names Albion and Iverio (Erin), which they gave to England and Ireland.

2. About 500 B.C. the KELTS, an Aryan people coming from the East, who had already conquered great part of Iberia (Spain) and Liguria (France) from The Britons. the brethren of the people of Albion, sent colonies into our islands, and won them too, driving their enemies into the wild western corners of the land, where many of them were still living when Cæsar and Tacitus wrote. Of these KELTS, whose speech is still spoken by more than two millions of us (Welsh, Irish, and Scots), much more may be told. The Greeks and Romans speak of them as tall and well made, round headed, light haired, and blue eyed, dressed in shirts and hose of linen, and wrapped in cloaks or gowns of light striped plaid-cloth (whence the name *Briton* or *clothed* borne by the Kelts who conquered Albion), and adorned with gold and silver neck and arm rings. Their weapons and tools were bronze; they were clever at metal-work, basket-making, and pottery; worked mines for lead and tin, which they sold to Phœnician merchants, and even struck gold money copied from the Greek

pieces they got in trade. They kept large herds of cattle and pigs, bred horses for driving, and had fine mastiffs and wolf-hounds for hunting; but they also tilled the ground, ploughing with oxen, and grew grain. They used canoes made of wood and coracles of wicker and leather on the rivers and lakes, but they never loved the sea.

The BRITONS were divided into many tribes, each with its own king (though sometimes two or three tribes would obey one head-king), the power in each tribe lying in the hands of the *gentry* and *priests*, the mass of the people being the *clients* of the gentry, who lent them the cattle upon which their livelihood rested, and got from them rent and service in return. The gentry's chief business was war, and they were brave soldiers. Cæsar notices their skill in managing their war-chariots, turning and wheeling them quickly and leaping in or out at a given signal, or running along the shafts to hurl their spears, while the swift little horses were going full speed over broken ground.

Their arms were broadswords, dirks, spears, and axes; the northern tribes used long swords and a short dart with a rattling ball at the butt-end, which they clashed in the charge. The chiefs wore helmets, and nearly every man had a shield of skin and wicker and a horn which he blew up for the battle; so that with the roaring of the horns, the clashing of the arms, the creaking of the chariots, and the war-cries of the warriors the onslaught of a Keltic tribe was very terrible even to trained soldiers.

Of the *learned* class, who enjoyed high honours, had a share of all spoil, and were sacred even in battle, were the *Druids*, prophets and priests, who worshipped in hallowed groves, slaying men and beasts on their altars for omens, or burning them in huge wicker images as offerings to their gods. There were also the *poets*, who kept the records and traditions and pedigrees of the tribes, and acted as ambassadors and heralds, besides singing for the amusement of the chiefs and people at banquets and merry-makings. There were *judges* too, who knew the old laws and customs and "spoke them" to the people. These men took great trouble in training themselves and learning the verses which enshrined all the wisdom of their forefathers; but they had no books, though Cæsar tells us they used the Greek alphabet for writing short messages and the like.

All the Kelts believed in the deathlessness and transmigration of the soul, and trusted in many gods, such as *Bri-gantia* and her two sisters, goddesses of poetry, healing, and metal-work; *Manannan*, the son of the sea; *Ana*, mother of

the gods ; *Ogmios*, god of eloquence ; *Neit*, lord of battle, and *Nemon*, his wife (gods of the people of Albion) ; *Maponos*, the young hunter-god ; *Camulos*, the god of the under-world, father of all men ; the three Great Queens that warn the warrior of his fate appearing in the form of birds, and many others of lesser power that haunted woods and springs and lakes and rocks. The dead were buried in a splendid and costly way with great lamentation and feasting, the ashes of the chiefs being put into urns and set in stone-slabbed chambers under large *round barrows*.

The Britons did not live in towns, but in scattered villages of neat wattled cots thatched with straw or bracken ; the chiefs' houses were of like kind but larger, and fenced about with a palisaded earthen wall. Each tribe had a *dun* (stronghold) stockaded, walled, and entrenched, within which people and cattle could take shelter in war-time. London, Sinodun, and Dumbarton were fortresses of this kind. Between these *duns* ran rough roads along the downs and hill-tops, and at convenient places where these roads crossed, or on open plains or hill-sides beside the graves of great chiefs, fairs were held at certain seasons of the year, where trade between different tribes was carried on, and no doubt, as in Ireland later, much merry-making (games, horse-racing, singing of poetry, and so on) took place.

In character the Britons were, in the main, like their descendants, brave to recklessness, open-handed, polite, fond of show and talk and novelty, dearly loving their country, and faithful to their family ; but too quarrelsome, fickle, and restless under control to make steady progress, to combine long in any undertaking, or to withstand a persevering foe.

CHAPTER II.

The Romans in Britain.

1. Caius Julius Cæsar the Roman had already conquered Gaul and subdued all the Keltic tribes there, when late in 55 B.C. he determined to go to Britain, wishing to know what kind of land it was and hoping to stop the Britons from sending help (as they had been doing) to their kinsfolk across the Channel. So, as he tells us, he set sail with two legions, reached the coast near Dover, and began to disembark his troops in the face of the British chariots and horsemen gathered on the beach to resist him. The water being too shallow for his big galleys to lie close inshore, the Romans had to wade through the

Julius Cæsar's
forays in
Britain.

surf to the beach under a shower of darts and stones which they could neither ward off nor return. Even the veterans were disheartened for a while, though Cæsar sent light boats filled with slingers and archers into the shallows where they could gall the Britons and cover their comrades' landing; but suddenly the standard-bearer of the famous 10th legion sprang into the water calling out, "Come on, men, if you do not wish to leave your eagle to the enemy, for I shall go forward and do my duty to my country and my general." The 10th rushed after him to save the holy standard, made good their landing, and, the other troops following, drove the Britons inland. But Cæsar dared not pursue them far from the coast, finding them no mean foes, and dreading the winter storms, so, getting a promise of peace from two tribes, he went back to Gaul empty-handed. However, next year he came again with a larger force, four legions and several squadrons of cavalry, landed, and hearing that Cassivellamnos, head-king of the tribes north of the Thames, was gathering the Britons against him, left a few men to guard his fleet and struck inland to meet him. First crossing the Thames in the face of the enemy he took London, and even carried Verulam, the British king's stronghold. But the country was wild and unknown, the Britons hung round the army and harassed his march, and the four kings of Kent were besetting his small camp on the coast. Cæsar therefore gladly received Cassivellamnos' proposals for peace, took hostages from several tribes, and retired to Gaul.

2. Twice more, by Augustus and Caligula, was Britain threatened, but not till Claudius' days was the threat carried out, when, in A.D. 43, his generals Claudius conquers Britain. Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula landed and won the south of the land bit by bit. The eastern Camulodun, capital of the Icenian prince, "the radiant Cymbeline" (Cunobelinus), was stormed under the emperor's eyes. In the north the Brigantes were forced into submission, while in the west the Silures were crushed by the defeat and capture of their king, Caratocos. The story of this brave chief's interview with Claudius at Rome, where his bold bearing won him the favour of the empress and the pardon of the emperor at her request, is well known.

The usual steps were taken to hold the new province, military stations were set near the *duns* of the different tribes, *colonies* of veteran soldiers were planted here and there at important points, well-made roads were drawn from camp to camp throughout the whole land, and a number of Roman

officers appointed to govern it : those tribes who submitted peacefully being allowed to keep their own laws and chiefs on payment of tribute to the emperor. But the harshness, greediness, and money-lending of the Roman officers led to more than one outbreak, and at last to a terrible revolt.

3. The king of the Eceñi, Prasutagos, a friend of the
 Boudicca's
 rising, A.D. 61. Romans and a rich man, made the emperor by his will coheir with his own two daughters to all that he had, hoping so to gain safety for his people and family when he was gone. But as soon as he was dead, under colour of looking after the emperor's rights, the Roman officers fell to plundering his people and pillaging his house, nay, they even sold his kinsmen into slavery, brutally ill-treated his daughters, and scourged his widow, Boudicca. Then the Eceñi rose and took a bitter revenge. They broke into Camulodun, where the Romans took refuge in a temple, defending it two or three days in their despair ; but in vain, for it was stormed, the town fired, and every living thing within it put to death. They then marched to Verulam and London, which in like manner they utterly destroyed. The 9th legion venturing to attack them was completely cut to pieces in the open field, and so great was the panic that most of the Romans in the south of Britain and the wicked governor himself fled to Gaul. But the general, Suetonius Paullinus, who was with the 14th legion away in the west, where he had just won the Druids' sacred island, Mona, after a fierce struggle, saved the province. Hurrying back at the news of the rising he met Boudicca and her huge host at *Ambresbury Banks*.

The queen, a tall grim-looking woman with fierce blue eyes and long yellow hair that fell from under her helmet over her golden collar and plaid mantle, went through the British army spear in hand in a war-chariot with her two daughters, praying her countrymen with brave words to fight boldly and win revenge for her and freedom for themselves. But Paullinus' attack was so well-timed and strongly followed up that the less disciplined Britons were forced back upon the wall of waggons which formed their camp, and there hemmed in and slain to a man, for the Romans were furious at the cruelties of the "mutiny" as they called it. Boudicca "triumphed over death," taking poison when she saw the day was lost rather than fall alive into her foe-men's hands. So the Rising ended, but when Nero heard the causes of it, he recalled the bad governor and sent out a more righteous man.

4. The north of Britain was as yet unsubdued, and the wild Caledonians used to make forays southwards and harry the *province*, till Julius Agricola, Domitian's general, defeated their king, Calgacos, in a pitched battle, and built a chain of forts from the Forth to the Clyde as a barrier against them. He also explored the north coast with his fleet, which he sent round the whole island, and even planned the invasion of Ireland. But the work this good and wise man had most at heart was the civilization of the Britons. He tried to persuade the gentlemen to take up Roman ways, and let their sons be taught Roman knowledge; and so much had he gained the goodwill of the provincials by his uprightness that when the seven years of his governorship were over, a great part of the land was fast becoming *Romanized*, and the danger was henceforth from without not from within.

Agricola and
his way with
the Britons.

5. The northern part of the province was still harassed by the wild tribes, and Hadrian, A.D. 121, was obliged to give up the Clyde valley and try to check the Caledonians by a huge dyke stretching from the Tyne to the Solway. Antonine, however, gained back Hadrian's losses and strengthened Agricola's line by a wall, while Severus, in 209, carried the war into Caledonia and reached the great North Bay by hard fighting, in which thousands of Roman soldiers fell either by disease brought on by hardships and overwork or by the darts of the natives. At last he too was obliged to fall back on Hadrian's dyke, in front of which he built a stone wall, Eboracum (York) being now the headquarters of the *Victorious* 6th legion. Beside the PICTS [painted folk] (as the Caledonians were now called), the SCOTS [tattooed men], from north Ireland, laid waste the west coasts of Britain in spite of the *Gallant* and *Conquering* 20th legion stationed at Deva (Chester), while the east and south were harried by a still more dreaded foe, the SAXONS of the North Sea shores. Against them a line of nine strong forts was built, covering the land from the Wash to Lymne, and garrisoned by the 2nd legion, the *August*, and other picked troops, the harbours of London and Dover being watched by a fleet of war-galleys.

The barbarians,
Picts, Scots, and
Saxons.

But the *barbarians'* attacks on Britain were but an example of what was going on all along the Roman frontiers, and soon, Italy itself being threatened, the outlying provinces were in still greater jeopardy. However, the island was held for many years more. Under Constantine, the first Christian emperor, born at York of a British mother, as the

legend tells, "fair Helena, who in all godly ways and goodly praise did far excel," it flourished greatly, and though evil days followed, Theodosius in 368 was able to gain some brilliant successes, and drive the invaders beyond Agricola's line once more. But the division of the empire, the troubles in Gaul, and the quarrels and revolts of the Roman governors in the island (several of whom, like Carausius, proclaimed themselves emperors and strove by the help of their armies and fleets to win supreme power) all joined, along with the never-ceasing attacks of the Irish and Picts, in bringing the Roman rule in Britain to an end. Legion after legion left the province, and though succours were sent back now and again, when they could be spared, to help the weakened garrison, the evacuation went steadily on (the Roman colonists burying their treasures in vain hopes of return and following the soldiers) till about 367 years after the landing of Aulus Plautius it was complete.

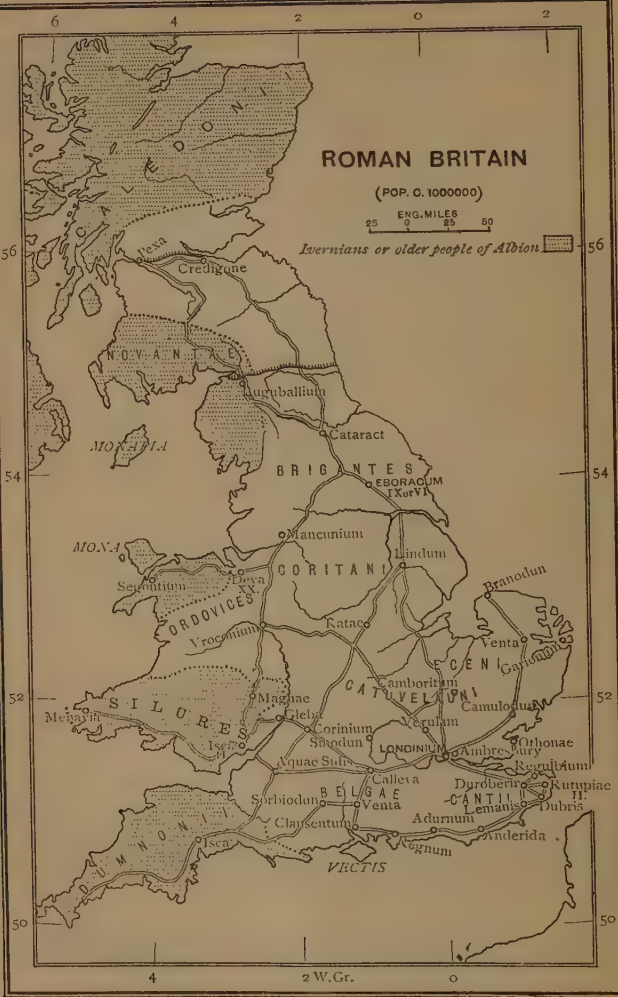
6. To the Romans we owe much. Great changes have taken place during their rule. So much wild forest-land had been cleared and tilled that Britain was called the Granary of the North. Great marshes had been drained (the first dikes in the Fens are Roman work), river-beds deepened and harbours dredged, gardens and vineyards had been laid out in Italian fashion (in many places the terraces along the hillsides may still be traced), stocked with many kinds of useful trees, shrubs, and plants brought from abroad, and sheep-farming had begun.

Iron (wrought in the Midlands, in the south, and in Dean Forest) had replaced bronze for tools and weapons, lead and tin mines and saltworks were carefully carried on, beautiful pottery was made on the banks of the Thames and Medway, and fine glass by the Channel shores. Handsome villas furnished with all the comforts of Roman life, strong fortresses, walled and tower-flanked, fine brick-built towns, with theatres, temples, baths, and law courts, stood on the sites of the rude halls and duns of Keltic Britain. More than thirty cities, besides York the capital, and many regular stations, are known to have existed, all knit together by paved roads running straight from point to point, crossing rivers and fens by bridge or causeway, gently graded over hills, and furnished with *cold harbours* [walled resting-places] at convenient stages. Wherever the words *-caster* (N.), *-cester* (M.), *-chester* (S.), *-xeter* (W.), or *caer* (Wales) are found in our maps there stood a Roman *castrum*, by every *strat-* or *stret-* there ran a Roman *via strata*, while *port* and *lynne* mark

Results of the
Roman rule
in Britain.

Roman merchant towns and harbours. Hence ships built in Britain carried grain, pearls, metals, slaves, horses, and hounds abroad, bringing back silk and gold and precious stones and all the luxuries of Rome. Roman influence is further shown by the use of Latin among the upper classes, and the number of words, belonging to war, government, religion, etc., which have found their way into Welsh, though the Latin tongue never ousted the Keltic in West Britain (as it did in the most part of Gaul and Spain) in spite of the long occupation by some 50,000 Roman soldiers and officials, besides the many foreigners in the towns.

But besides fixing the sites of our great cities and opening up the country by roads, the Romans gave us our religion. In the first century Christianity reached Britain and began to spread among the Romanized Britons. Of this early British Church and its history little is known save the names of a few bishops of London, Caerleon, and York; the sites of a score of churches (Glastonbury, Dover, S. Martin's Canterbury, etc.); the origin of a new heresy, the Pelagian, in the fifth century; and a few beautiful legends, such as those of "good Lucius that first received the sacred pledge of Christ's Evangely;" of S. Alban, the first martyr of Britain, slain on the hill by Verulam, where now his noble minster stands; of S. Germanus, prophet of the wrath to come. But it is certain that the Romans left the province Christian, with a regular hierarchy, several monasteries, and a Latin translation of the Bible. From this Church is descended the Welsh Church, and, by the labours of S. Ninian and SS. Palladius and Patrick, Welsh missionaries to the heathen Inverians and Kelts in Caledonia and Hibernia, the Churches of Scotland and Ireland. How these converts in their turn spread the Christian faith among us English will be told later on. Meanwhile the heavy debt we owe the British Church should make us pass lightly over the later days of its sway in Roman Britain, as they are shown to us in the stern forebodings of Gildas the monk, who denounces the wickedness of the people, the corruption of the priesthood, and the guilt of the rulers, whose crimes cast contempt upon the faith they professed so loudly but were so loath to follow.



ROMAN BRITAIN

(POP. C. 1000000)

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ENG. MILES

Iwerinians or older people of Albion

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54
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CHAPTER III.

The English Conquest and Settlement.

1. For more than a century the SAXONS and other Teuton tribes had ravaged Roman Britain, and latterly made small settlements upon the south and east coasts, but now that the Romans were gone, seeing the "nothingness of the Britons and the goodness of the land," they came in large bodies to settle, bringing their wives and children and cattle with them in their *keels*, and took up their abode here for ever, slaying the chiefs and warriors of the Welsh (as they called the Britons), or driving them before them into the west.

This conquest took two hundred years, and we can see that it came about bit by bit in two stages as it were.

In the *first* (400-520) the invaders won the greater part of the east and south coasts of Britain, and set up small kingdoms along them.

The JUTES in *Kent, Wight, and the Hants coast.*

The SAXONS in *Sussex, Wessex, Essex, and Middlesex.*

The ENGLISH (from whom the whole land was called England) in *East England, Middle England, Lindesey, Deira, and Bernicia* (the Welsh names for the country round York and Bamborough, meaning the *Water-land* and the *Brigantians'-land*).

Then there came a check, caused perhaps by the bravery of Arthur of Cumbria, Head-King of the Britons, who seems to have had a regular army after the Roman fashion. But the growing numbers of the English, who still flocked across the North Sea to the new settlements, and the death of Arthur, brought on the *second stage* of conquest (520-613), when there pushed forward—

From WESSEX the *Wiltsetan, Dorsetan, Somersetan, Magesetan* (round Hereford), and *Hwiccan* (round Worcester).

From the ANGLIAN or ENGLISH kingdoms the *Marchmen* (*Borderers*), who built up a great kingdom in the Midlands.

The steps of this stage are marked by the battles. In 550 the West Saxons won *Salisbury*, in 571 the victory at *Bedford* gave them the country up to Oxford; in 577, by the famous fight at *Dyrham*, they also won the three great cities of Gloster, Cirencester, and Bath, cut off the Welsh of Cornwall from the Welsh of Wales, reached the Western Sea, and began to win and settle the Severn valley; finally, by the great battle at *Chester*, 613, the Northumbrians also reached

the Irish Channel, and divided the Cumbrian Welsh (who held the east coast from Chester to Dumbarton) from their kinsfolk in Wales. The whole of the west slope and centre valleys of Britain were now in the hands of the English, and the three Welsh kingdoms were never able to unite again to withstand them.

The chief things which weakened the Welsh and enabled the English to overcome them were a terrible famine which took place in the fifth century, the lack of many of their best soldiers, who were away in Gaul with their leaders, and did not come back to stop the invasion of their own land; but still more the selfish wickedness and never-ceasing quarrels of the Welsh princes.

The struggle was throughout very cruel and deadly, for the Welsh and English were of different tongues and faiths, and would never mix with each other as had happened in other parts of the Roman empire (for instance, in Gaul, where the conquering Franks and the conquered Gauls became one people, using the Latin tongue). Hence, too, the English kept their own tongue and ways unchanged.

All the villages and many towns in East Britain were broken down, fired, and left waste, like Anderida (Pevensey), Uiriconium (Wroxeter), and Chester; but others, like London and Winchester, were spared and settled by the English chiefly for convenience of trade, for it was not till much later that the English became a nation of townsfolk.

2. The history of these two hundred years of conquest

Legends of the
Conquest.

must be pieced together out of different sources, for when the English became Christians they grew ashamed of their heathen forefathers, and the Welsh stories have mostly perished. But two famous *legends*, that of the *Conquest of Kent* and the *Wars of Arthur*, have come down to us. The first tells how Vortigern, Duke or King of Britain, sent (after the Roman fashion of fighting barbarians by barbarian aid) to two Jute wickings [sea-rovers], Hengist and Horsa, praying them to help him against the Picts and Scots. They came and defeated his foes and then made up their minds to win part of Britain for themselves, so they sent home for help, which soon came, and wintered in the Isle of Thanet. Then Vortigern, for love of Romwen, Hengist's daughter, betrayed his country and gave them the kingdom of Kent; but Vortimer and Catigern, his valiant sons, fought four battles against them, in one of which, at *Epsford*, Catigern and Horsa fell in hand-to-hand fight. But at Vortimer's death the Britons fled like fire, leaving Hengist lord of Kent, and he won still more land; for having entrapped

Vortigern and the British princes to a great feast, he slew them by treachery, forcing the king to ransom himself by giving up London and a great part of his kingdom. Merlin the wizard set up the huge blocks of Stonehenge, bringing them from Ireland to Salisbury Plain to stand as a memorial over the murdered nobles. The wicked Vortigern, spurning the warnings of S. Germanus, the Gallic missionary Bishop of Auxerre, who rebuked him for his sins, was at last destroyed in his palace by fire from heaven.

Better known and grander, but mixed up with other stories so that it is difficult to get any fact out of them, are the tales of the last mighty British king, "great-hearted Arthur," who beat the English in twelve pitched battles in the north, stemming the tide of invasion by his prowess and that of his good knights Kay and Bedivere and Gawain and Maelgwn, but perishing in the end at the hands of a traitor kinsman: in life and death alike the very type of a Keltic hero.

3. The English were a nation of *franklins* or *freeholders*, living by their land and cattle, every man in his own *homestead*. A knot of neighbouring homesteads owned by men of the same *kindred* formed a *village* called by the family name (Wallingford = the ford of the Wallings, Buckingham = the home of the Bockings, Billing = the Billings). House and yard and cattle were the property of the household, but the tilth meadow and pasture of the village were held in *common* by all, being divided afresh every year so that each household should have its fair share. This and all other village business was settled by the village moot or meeting of the heads of households (much as in New England now) and their chosen officers, the *village-reeve*, the *pinder*, the *beadle*, and the like.

The English
people. Their
government.

A number of villages were grouped into a *hundred*, so called because at first it was made up of one hundred and twenty households, each sending one armed man to court, council, or war. In the *hundred-moot*, the criminal court of the district, which met at least four times a year, disputes between man and man were settled and measures taken against crime; musters of the district *fyrð* or war-levy were also held. A *hundred-elder* presided at it. The chief court of the whole tribe, above all these, was the *folk-moot* or tribe-parliament, which met twice a year to settle great matters, such as war and peace, law-making, choosing or putting down kings, appeals, disputes between noblemen, quarrels between different villages and hundreds, and so on. The *king* was the head of this meeting, the nobles and gentle-

folks spoke, but every point was carried or thrown out by the votes of the freeholders present.

Afterwards, when several smaller kingdoms were brought together under the rule of *head-kings*, they used to hold a meeting of the greatest men of all their under kingdoms, called *Witena-gemot* or Wise Men's meeting, which dealt with matters touching their whole dominions. The folk-moot was still the chief court for each separate little kingdom, and was held by an *alderman* or viceroy of the head-king, who sent a *shire-greeve* [sheriff] as his steward to sit with him and see that the royal property was properly looked after.

4. An old English moot dealing with criminal law was like a public meeting of to-day, with its *chairman*, the king or alderman, who kept order, "spoke" or declared the law, and saw the wish of the meeting carried out; its *committee*, the sworn witnesses or grand jury chosen from the body of the meeting to accuse evil-doers, hear evidence, and say on which side the burden of proof lay; its *speakers* and their *seconders*, the plaintiff and defendant with their witnesses and bailsmen. Proof was taken by *ordeal* of fire or water (in which the accused had to carry a piece of red-hot iron or dip his arm in boiling water, being held guiltless if after seven days he had not suffered), or by *compurgation* (where a man had to get a certain number of people differing according to their rank or his offence to swear to his innocence). The courts were held in the open air, generally on a hill where all could see and hear. Offences were punished by *fine* or in worse cases by *outlawry* (when the criminal was put outside the pale of the law and might be killed like a wolf). Only murder [secret killing], witchcraft, and treason were punished by death (hanging for men, drowning for women). Slaves and vagabonds were whipped or put in the stocks,

5. There were three classes among the old English; two free, gentle (*eorl*) and simple (*ceorl*), and one unfree, slave (*theow*), each with its *were-gild* [man-price] payable to the kindred or master of any one who killed a man. If a gentleman was a knight of the king's (*thegen*) or his henchman (*gesith*) his were-gild was higher. Most freemen lived on their own homesteads, but some would take service as henchmen with the king or aldermen or rich gentlemen, whose pride it was to have a body of retainers about them, to guard them in peace, follow them in war, and be standing proof of their riches and bounty; for they fed, clothed, and armed them, paying them by gifts

Law.

Ranks.

of weapons, gold rings, cattle, and sometimes farms (for no man's wages were paid in money in those days). Hence the old English poets call kings and princes *Lord* (loaf-giver) and *Ring-bestower*, and love to sing of the faithfulness of the henchman and the generosity of his patron. Some landless free-men took up trades and crafts, and were smiths, carpenters, fishermen, huntsmen, or merchants; others worked on or farmed richer folk's land. For though at first in the villages every household had its *ethel* or share, yet in time the *arable* land got divided for ever among them nearly everywhere once for all instead of being shared out year by year; and so some became better off than others. Moreover, in each kingdom were large spaces of unenclosed land, *folk-land*, belonging to the tribe and not yet parcelled out; pieces of this the king and wise men from time to time granted to different people, usually king's henchmen, to hold as their own, so that, as nowadays, some men had large estates. In Christian times the monks were great landowners, and many people were employed, free and bond, on their estates.

Slaves worked on their master's land or in his house, like our servants, the men as swineherds, neatherds, or labourers; the women grinding the corn in stone querns, and looking after the milking, cooking, and household drudgery. In the east of England slaves were few, but there were many in the west, chiefly captive Welsh. A man might fall into slavery for some crime that he had done, or he might sell himself for bread in time of famine or distress. There was a regular slave-trade carried on between Bristol and Ireland and London and Gaul, some men being so wicked as even to sell their own children into bondage.

6. The best way of showing what old England was like will perhaps be to describe one of the larger An old English homestead. homesteads with its indwellers and their daily life. The house is a group of high-gabled one-storied timber buildings thatched or tiled—the *hall* a general eating and living room, the *bower* or women's room, besides kitchens, cow-byres, stables, and storehouses—all standing in a square yard fenced about with a bank and hedge, and perhaps a moat round the whole.

The owner of such a place is dressed in linen shirt and hose spun and woven at home, and a short frock reaching the knee of fine red or blue cloth embroidered at the edges and fastened round the waist with a leathern belt, to which hung a sheath knife with carved hilt. On his feet are black leather shoes, and bands of linen crossing each other are

twisted round his leg from ankle to knee. His head is bare, his hair long and braided, his beard forked, his throat and breast tattooed; on his arms and wrists are three or four armlets of gold, and on his finger a gold ring with his name or a charm cut round it. If he were going on a journey he would have a sword and round buckler with him, and if he rode, a ten-foot ashen iron-headed spear. In bad weather he wears a short rough cloak clasped at the shoulder with a large brooch of wrought gold or yellow bronze. In war a mail shirt covers his body and a leathern or metal helmet, with the figure of a boar on it, his head. His servants are dressed in the same style but less richly; if slaves, they are barefoot with cropped heads, long hair being a sign of freedom.

The housewife also wears linen clothes and over them a gown of bright cloth, worked over with needlework in fine patterns, and in winter a mantle with two brooches at the neck; her head is covered with a linen veil (only unmarried girls go bareheaded); at her girdle hangs her pouch for needles and thread and her keys; in her hand is her distaff.

Masters and servants all dine together (about noon) at the long hall tables served by the women; the meat is handed round on spits, and the cups and drinking-horns filled from wooden buckets on a sideboard. Every man has his own loaf and uses his own knife and wooden spoon. Porridge and milk (cows' or ewes') and barley bread were the staple food; but a rich man's table never lacked beef and mutton in the summer, and salt meat, pork, or game in the winter. In the heathen times horse-flesh was eaten at the sacrificial feasts; but this was forbidden when Christendom came, and fish then became the regular food twice a week on fast-days. Ale and mead were the commonest drinks, but kings and nobles drank wine brought from abroad.

There was not much furniture in the house, a few curtains and hangings of needlework, trestle tables, benches, large carved chests for clothes, linen, and plate, two or three bedsteads (the servants slept on the benches or the floor), and a high carved chair for the head of the house. The fires were on hearths in the middle of the floor, and the smoke got up through a hole in the roof. There were a few windows under the eaves and gables, these were covered with skin or linen dipped in oil.

There was plenty to do on the farm all the year round. The master would be out all the morning with his sons and men, and after dinner and an hour's rest would go back to work

till sunset, when there would be supper and all would go to bed. The women were cooking and baking and spinning under the mistress's eye. Ploughing and sowing and harrowing, hedging and ditching, were the first outdoor labours of the year; then after the lambing season was over and the winter cut wood had been carted and stacked, hay-making set in; then came the harvest. When the corn was carried, hawking and hunting began, and the herds of swine were driven to the woods to fatten on the mast and acorns; when the leaves had fallen, the corn was thrashed and winnowed, beer was brewed, and cattle and pigs killed and salted for the winter. At Yule there was feasting and holiday for a fortnight. In the spring people went maying and set up May-poles. Midsummer was a time for merry-making and gatherings of all kinds, fairs, markets, races, horse-fights, and games. The courts were held at such seasons, and in heathen times the sacrifices. Till the Christian calendar came in the week was of five days, and there was no day of rest like our Sunday.

7. The English believed in many gods. *Thunder*, bluff and red bearded, whose car rattled in the storm as he hurled his lightning hammer at his foes Religion. the giants; *Woden*, father of victory, wisest of gods and men, knowing all things past and to come, since he sold one of his eyes (by the lack of which he was known when he walked in disguise among men) for the Water of Wisdom; *Tew*, bravest of the gods, who gave his right arm to save the heavenly powers from hurt; *Frey*, bestower of riches and good seasons; *Heimdall*, the giant-god, father of mankind; *Eager*, the cruel sea-god that takes down drowning men; *Ran*, his wife, who catches them in her net; *Freya*, the beautiful goddess whose magic necklace, love-inspiring, was the most precious of jewels; *Beadu*, lady of war; the *Weirds*, goddesses of fate, strongest of all; and *Hell*, the black giantess that kept the souls of the wicked in her cold, dark, snake-haunted caves. All these and more they feared or loved, besides believing in *etyns* [*giants*], *ogres*, and such *monsters* as the two Wolves that are ever chasing the sun and moon, and sometimes grip hold of them for a space, so causing eclipses; *dwarves*, little clever spiteful beings "that ever dwell beneath the ground nor dare behold the sun," making magic weapons and charmed rings, and digging out the treasures of the earth; and *elves*, fairies of the woods and meadows and wells.

The English buried or burned their dead carefully for fear their angry souls should haunt the spot where the uncared-

for body lay; and as they thought the after life was just like this one, they put food and drink and weapons and horses into the grave with him that the soul might pass its spirit-life happily hunting by night in the woods and feasting by day inside the *barrow*.

The gods' temples were large halls inside a wooden fence into which no armed man might come. The wooden stocks which stood for the images of the gods, the holy ring on which oaths were sworn, the blood-stone on which the beasts were slain for sacrifice, were kept there. Here the hallowed feasts were held with the flesh of the horses and boars offered to the idols, and fresh-brewed ale in which toasts were drunk to the gods' honour. The temple-keepers, many of whom were women, had no power like the Druids, every householder being priest for his household, and the king for the tribe; but they were consulted as soothsayers, and would go round the country from house to house practising their witchcraft, pretending to make spirits show themselves to men to foretell the future, and "sitting out" in desert places to raise the dead to answer the questions of the living. A tenth of all spoil was given to the gods, and regular temple-dues paid.

8. The English were fond of poetry and singing to the harp. Every king had his gleeman, who was loved and honoured by all, for on him it depended whether a man's brave deeds should go down to those that came after him. One of the ways the missionaries found most powerful in getting the people to listen to the Gospel was the putting of Latin hymns into English and singing them in the streets. The church chanting, which was strange to them, also pleased the people much. Old English verse was not like ours, rhymed, but *alliterative* or *letter-catching*—one stressed word in each half of a line must begin with the *same consonant* or a *different vowel*. The piece given below will show how it was. Their poetry was either *epic*, telling stories of gods or heroes, or *didactic*, teaching useful knowledge, often by proverbs (for the heathen English had no books). The heathen poems are unhappily lost, though we know some of the stories they told about *Weyland*, the cunning smith, his brother, *Egill*, the mighty archer, and *Wade*, with his magic boat; *Sigmund*, that slew the dragon and got the golden hoard; *Waldhere*, and his feats of war; *Finn*, and the fight at Finnsboro', his hall, and others. One whole poem written by a Christian about a heathen hero is left, and it shows what these older poems were like; it tells

Poetry.

the life and deeds of *Beowulf* the Gaut, who rid the Danish king of two fearful ogres, Grendel and his mother, reigned long and well in his own land, and died at last of the wounds he got in killing a firedrake.

9. The old English could write in heathen days, but they only used writing for marking their weapons and goods, or for charms. This line upon a large ^{Tongue.} golden horn found in the old home of the English at Gallehus was written about A.D. 350, and is the oldest bit of English known—

EC HLEWAGASTIZ · HOLTINGAZ · HORNA · TAWIDO

[I Hlewagast · the Holting · the horn · made.]

It is written in *runes*, the letters of an alphabet the Teutons borrowed and adapted from the Greek.

This is part of a poem of Cædmon, made more than three centuries later, and engraven upon a stone cross at Ruthwell, before the year 750—

Rod wæs ic aræraed : ahof ic riicne cuningc
[A-cross was I reared lifted-I the-noble king,]

heafunæs hlafard : hælda ic ni darstæ
[the heaven's lord bend I-durst-not]

bismærædu ungcet men ba ætgadre : ic wæs midh blodæ bistemid.
[mocked us-two men both together I was with blood moistened.]

One can see by these verses that the old English tongue was fully *inflected* like Latin and Greek, with nouns, adjectives, and verbs declined in many forms, while the bodies of many of the words were almost the same as ours now, only more broadly, slowly, and clearly spoken, though others of them are now disused and forgotten.

10. The old English are described as brave, hard-working, earnest, truthful, and law-abiding people, cruel ^{Look and mind.} and bloodthirsty especially towards foreigners, and too apt when their work was done to give themselves up to gross eating, hard drinking, and deep play. In look they were tall and stout, round headed, with fine thick yellow or brown hair, grey or brown eyes, large teeth, clear ruddy skins, and pleasing faces. Their hands and feet rather big but well shapen. They could bear great fatigue and toil, and were not easily turned back from anything they had once begun.

11. While the English were conquering Britain a body of Scots from Ireland under Fergus MacErc landed ^{The Scots.} on the west coast of Caledonia about 500 A.D. and set up a little kingdom there, which went on fighting

with the Picts till about 836, when, their royal families having intermarried, Kenneth MacAlpin became heir to both crowns, and from that time the kingdom of Picts and Scots began to be called Scotland and all its people Scots. Kenneth and his descendants ruled as far south as the line of Agricola. Their royal *dun* was at Perth, but they were crowned on the Holy Stone at Scone, which Fergus was said to have brought from Ireland. The Scots were Christians, for Ireland had, we know, been converted a generation before they left it. In 565 there came to one of their islands, *Hy*, now called *Iona*, a noble Irish monk named Columba, who had left his own land for a penance. He drew many disciples round his cell, and founded a monastery, which became famous for the holiness and learning of its monks, and for the missionaries it sent forth among the heathen Picts in Caledonia, and the heathen English of Northumberland. The border between Scots and English was fixed in 603 by the battle of *Dawston* or *Catterick*.

CHAPTER IV.

The English become Christian. Overlordship of Northumberland and Marchland Kings.

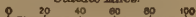
1. The next two hundred years are taken up on one hand by the *conversion of the English*, first begun by Roman, but chiefly carried out by Scottish missionaries, the *settlement of the English Church*, and the *changes* it brought about; and on the other hand by the struggles of the great kings of Northumberland and the Marchland to bring all the smaller kingdoms under their rule, and so become *overlords* of England.

It is told that while Pope Gregory was yet a simple priest he chanced to see some young English boys at the slave-market in Rome. Struck by their white skins, light hair, and fair faces, he asked who they were, of what faith and nation. When he was told that they were heathen Angles from Britain, and their king's name *Ælla*, playing on the words he answered, "They that have the faces of *angels* should be singing *Alleluiah* with them rather than sitting in the darkness of sin." Then touched with pity he went to the Pope and asked leave to go to England and preach the Gospel there, but the Roman people loved him so well they would not let him go. Still he never forgot the sight of the poor children, and when

The christening
of Kent and
Essex, 597.

ENGLISH, WELSH
AND
PICTISH KINGDOMS.

Statute Miles.



he became Pope he sent his friend Augustine the monk and a company of forty priests and monks with him to King Æthelberht of Kent, who had married a Christian wife, Bertha, daughter of the King of Paris. Æthelberht received them kindly, gave them an old Roman church, S. Martin's, at Canterbury, and after a while, persuaded by their good words and godly lives, was baptized with many of his people. The East Saxons and their king also became Christians, and Augustine was hallowed Archbishop of Canterbury, and two of his followers made bishops of London and Rochester.

Augustine tried to get the Welsh clergy to take him as their archbishop and join him in preaching to the heathen English ; but they would not, whereupon he told them that since they did not choose to live in peace with their Christian brethren and share their work, they should meet a punishment from heathen foes. Now the first king that became Overlord of England was Æthelfrith of Northumberland, who having beaten the Scots at *Catterick* in 603, now in 607 gained the great victory of *Chester* (which was spoken of above) over the Welsh princes. To that battle there came from Bangor a congregation of Welsh priests and monks to pray for their countrymen's success ; but Æthelfrith, having routed the princes, took and slew 1200 of these monks, saying that they had done their best to overthrow him by their prayers. Thus Augustine's words were fulfilled to the letter.

2. Æthelfrith's successor, Eadwine, married Æthelberg, daughter of Æthelberht of Kent, who brought with her to Northumberland a priest named Paullinus, a companion of Augustine's. He tried to turn king and people to the New Faith, but vainly, till in 626, on the first day of Easter, the West Saxon king sent his henchman Eomer with a two-edged poisoned dagger to slay Eadwine. Eomer came to the king as if to give a message, and, watching his time, struck at him ; but Lilla, one of his men, "loyalty's martyr," threw himself before the blow and was killed, the king escaping by the faithfulness. That very night the queen bore a daughter, Eanfled, and Eadwine, thinking that the Christian's God had saved him on his holy day, gave her to Paullinus to be baptized, vowing that if he came back safe and victorious over the West Saxons he would become a Christian himself. Coming back in triumph, he accordingly called his wise men together and asked them what they thought of the New Faith ; they said that it seemed to them a good one, because the gods they

First christening
of Northumber-
land and East
England.

used to worship were neither able to help them at need, nor could give them everlasting life in heaven as the Christian's God could. Then the temples were pulled down and the idols burnt, and the king and most of his people baptized. Long after, Bæda the historian, who tells of these things, met a man who could remember the tall thin form, dark hair, piercing eyes, and roman nose of Paullinus as he stood over him in the water of the river christening him.

3. But the Marchmen were still heathen, and their king, Penda the Strong, the greatest warrior of his age, banded himself with Cædwalla the Welsh king, "a Christian indeed, but worse than any heathen in his rage against the English Church;" and they fell upon Eadwine and slew him and many noble-men with him at *Heathfield* in the north (633).

Penda and the
kings of North-
umberland, 626-
654.

"With many a rill of gentle blood red reeked Heathfield that day."

They also laid waste the land so fearfully that the people from wretchedness forsook the New Faith for a time. Penda then went to his own land, but Cædwalla reigned at York for a year ("the accursed year" it was called long afterwards), till Oswald Æthelfrith's son came against him with a small army, setting up the cross as his standard with his own hands, and overthrew him, near the *Wall*, in 634.

"The corse of Cædwalla's men choked up the Dennisburn."

Oswald had lived in exile with the Scottish monks at Iona, and now that he was king he sent there for teachers to bring back his people to Christendom and preach the Gospel to the other heathen kingdoms. They sent him Aidan "the mild-hearted," in whom was both "the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove;" Finan, "the follower of the apostles," and others, by whose help and zeal not only was Northumberland made Christian again, but the West Saxons, East English, and at last the Marchmen were brought to the New Faith. For though Penda revenged Cædwalla's death on Oswald and slew the "gentle king" at *Maserfield*, near Oswestry, in 642, this was his last victory.

"O God, have pity on their souls:" prayed Oswald as he fell
On Maserfield, that long was white with martyrs' bleaching bones."

Oswiu, the next King of Northumberland, offered to pay Penda a heavy tribute if he would but make peace with him; but Penda refused, and marched against him with a great host led by thirty kings' sons. Then Oswiu said, "If this heathen will not take our gifts let us offer them to the Lord,

who will not turn from us ;” and vowed to give up his daughter to serve God for ever as a nun, and to settle twelve estates on the monasteries, if he won the day. And Penda fled before him and perished with all his host, more being drowned in their flight across the swollen river *Winwede* than were slain by the sword.

“ The deaths of five kings were avenged beside the *Winwede* then.”

With Penda heathendom passed away. His son was a Christian, and the whole of the Marchland gladly listened to the Irish and Scottish missionaries Oswiu sent among them. So that, save Sussex and the Isle of Wight, which Wilfrith the archbishop converted a few years later, all England was now christened.

4. When Oswiu found that the Scottish and Roman missionaries could not agree in many matters of church-teaching he called a meeting of bishops and priests at Streoneshalch (*Whitby*) in 664, and bade them choose which form they would follow, for it was needful that the English Church should be of one mind in all things. They agreed to keep the Roman way, accordingly Oswiu sent a priest to the Pope to be made Archbishop of Canterbury and set the Church in order ; but he died at Rome, so the Pope chose Theodore of Tarsus and sent him to England. Theodore made rules for government of the Church, marked out the bishops' sees, set priests in every village as far as he could, and looked after the training of priests and the good order of the church in every way, so that it is on his foundations that the Church of England has built ever since.

5. The last Northumbrian overlord was Oswiu's son Ecgfrith, who, not content with conquering the Welsh of Cumbria and ravaging the Irish coast, 684, at last crossed the Forth into Fife to fight against his cousin Brude, the King of the Picts, in spite of the warning of his bishop, S. Cuthbert. But being drawn into an ambush at *Dunnichen* or *Nectan's Fort*, north of Tay, he and his men were cut off and slain. The enemies of Northumberland now rose against her, and she was never able to hold the overlordship again, the March kings seizing and holding it for nearly a century, though there were several powerful West Saxon kings during that time. Such was Ine the Wise, who conquered Essex, built Taunton as a border fort against the Cornish king, and at last, like many other kings of this age, bethought him that all worldly glory must pass, and so, seeking a kingdom that

Settlement of
the English
Church, c. 670.

Overlordship of
Marchland
kings in the
eighth century.

should be everlasting, gave up the crown he had worn thirty-seven years, and went with his wife to Rome, where they died.

Offa the Mighty (757-796), the last great king of the Marchmen, was the most powerful ruler yet seen in England. He made all the under-kings obey him, built the *Great Dyke* (called after him) from Chester to Chepstow, forcing the Welsh to keep behind it. He was also a law-giver and a friend of learned men. It was he that sent Alcwine and other teachers to Charles the Great, for England was now famous for learning; and the poet Cynewulf, whose sweet verses we have still, lived in his time. He made friends with the Pope, and promised him Peter's pence or *Rome-scot*, obtaining from him leave to have an archbishop of his own at Lichfield (as the other two great kingdoms, Northumberland and Wessex, had theirs at York and Canterbury), because Jaenberht of Canterbury had tried to bring in an army of Franks to overthrow him. Only one Archbishop of Lichfield ever sat, however, for Offa's son made peace with Canterbury and gave up his father's plan. It was Offa that built the first Abbey of S. Albans. After Offa's death his kingdom grew weak and left place for the rising power of Wessex.

6. In the seventh and eighth centuries there were many great Churchmen in England. *Cuthbert*, the single-hearted bishop and hermit, who preached peace and watchfulness and humility; *Chad*, never weary in labouring for the Lord; *Benedict*, founder and builder of churches and schools, parts of which are still standing; *Hilda* the princess, abbess of Whitby, where dwelt *Cædmon*, the poor monk who was said to have received the gift of poetry from an angel, and sung the Bible history in poems, parts of which have come down to us; and many other holy men and women of all ranks, kings and queens and slaves alike, who laboured for the Church and the poor, some in their places in the world, others in the more peaceful labours of the minsters.

The first great
Churchmen of
England.

Nor were the English, any more than the Irish, content, now that they themselves were Christians, till they had spread the Gospel abroad in lands still heathen, especially among their kinsmen on the mainland. Famous among their missionaries are *Wilfrith*, sometime Archbishop of York, who being wrecked on his way to Rome to appeal to the Pope on a dispute between him and Theodore of Tarsus, preached the Gospel to the Frisians among whom he was cast, as he also did in England to the men of Wight and Sussex, whose apostle he was; *Willebrord*, missionary arch-

bishop of the old Saxons ; and above all *Boniface* (whose English name was *Winfrith*) : he took up in Middle and South Germany the work S. Gall and his Irish had begun, and by the help of the Franks and the Pope, who loved and honoured him exceedingly, evangelized great part of those lands and was made Archbishop of Mainz. He died a martyr in Friesland, 733.

7. In becoming Christians under one great church system the English were brought together more than Results of the change of faith. they had ever been before, for the Church paid no respect to persons, and a Mercian might be made archbishop in Kent, or a West Saxon become monk in Northumberland ; so that all Englishmen began to look upon themselves as of one great nation, though the separate kingdoms still existed. The bishops also did their best to keep these different kingdoms at peace with one another, and even with the Scots and Welsh, so that we hear of no more massacres like those at Heathfield and Chester ; and when a piece of country was now won from the Welsh, the conquered people were suffered to dwell beside their conquerors and protected by law, not as before, slain or thrust down into slavery to till the lands their fathers had owned and dwelt upon.

The clergy became a great power among the English, for by the side of every lay officer or magistrate there was a clerical one. Besides the head-kings, the *archbishops* ; by the folk-kings, the *folk-bishops* or *diocesans* ; and in the village moot, the *parish priest*. These clergymen took part in all courts and moots, had were-gilds like laymen, and received fines and gave punishments for *spiritual offences*, such as evil-living, breach of church rules, and the like.

The monasteries, large establishments to which men retired under vows to live strictly for the love of God, were numerous and rich ; and the monks did a great deal of good, caring for the poor, tending the sick and helpless, guesting travellers on their way through the country, tilling the waste lands in which their minsters stood, often reading, writing and copying books, and keeping schools. In their gardens were first grown many useful shrubs and plants never before seen in England, and in their libraries books were preserved and stored which otherwise would have perished. Life in a well-ordered monastery was not idle : poorly and thinly clad and faring badly, the monk was obliged to attend the *church offices*, which came at frequent intervals throughout the day and night, and to sit in the *chapter meeting*, where were settled the business, discipline, and order of the house, and

to do his share of the common work, however menial it might be, submitting without a murmur to the absolute rule of the abbot, however harshly exercised.

8. Now that the English belonged to a Church which prevailed over West Europe, they naturally mixed more with other neighbouring nations, especially the Franks of Gaul and Germany, and so came to learn many fresh arts, such as glass-making and masonry, and much knowledge, such as the Roman alphabet, which soon took the place of their old Rune-Row. Writing was now used for books, and Englishmen learned Latin and Greek and set books out of these tongues into their own. They also began to write books themselves, chiefly sermons, Bible comments, histories, geographies, and calendars, just such kind of works as are most read in England now. The greatest writer of these days was the *Venerable Bæda* (died 742), a monk of Jarrow. He fixed the *year of the Lord* by which we all reckon now, and wrote the famous *History of the English Church*, which though in Latin is the first history-book made in England, and tells us most of what is known of our early forefathers. He also Englished the *Gospel of John*, wrote a life of S. Cuthbert, and many more pious and learned works. His English hymns, one of which he sung on his deathbed, were popular long after his days.

Learning in England. Bæda.

CHAPTER V.

The West Saxon Kings and the Danes.

1. The Northumbrian head-kings had spread Christianity and learning through England and broken the power of the Welsh; the Marchland head-kings had crushed the smaller kingdoms and bound them under their rule, both thus making smooth the way for the West Saxon head-kings, from whose house the sceptre was never to depart, and under whom England at last became really one kingdom under one king. Up to this time the West Saxon kings had been chiefly taken up with fighting the Welsh, colonizing the land so won, subduing the smaller neighbouring kingdoms, Wight, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, and seeing to the government of their own kingdom, which was better ruled and ordered than any other. When they once won the head-kingship they were able to keep it, not only because they were helped by the English Church and befriended by the Frankish kings,

Rise of Wessex.

but chiefly because they alone were able to stand out as the champions of the whole English nation and to keep their realm from the Danes, while Marchland and Northumberland and all the other smaller kingdoms had been overrun and conquered.

2. These DANES (as the English called all their Scandianavian foes) were those Teuton tribes which Danish sea-rovers ravage the English coasts, 787-875. instead of going west to Britain had crossed the Baltic north and settled Norway and Sweden and the Danish isles, setting up many little kingdoms. At the end of the eighth century many of the princes and nobles of these tribes began to take to sea-roving, setting out in their *ashes*, large well-built luggers that could withstand the storms of the North Sea, to plunder the richer lands of Germany, Gaul, or the Western Islands (the British group). Sailing into the broad river-mouths, they first threw up a stockaded earthwork as their headquarters, and then began scouring the country far and wide, slaying the people, burning the towns and minsters, and carrying off the cattle and goods, till the land was left bare, when they would sail home with their booty. In this way the British coasts were ravaged for nearly a hundred years.

3. But what was happening in England was also taking place in Norway and Denmark; there arose head-kings who put down the small tribal kings and Settlement of Danes and Northmen, 850-950. brought the whole land under one firm and peaceful rule. The *wickings* (sea-rovers), many of whom belonged to royal races whom the head-kings were rooting out, resisted this as far as they could, but at last were obliged to choose between staying quietly at home and giving up piracy, or going off altogether to win new homes in the "golden lands" they had plundered. Most of them took this choice, and at the end of the ninth century *Northmen* were setting up kingdoms in Ireland, Man, the Orkneys, and York, whence later went forth the men who colonized the Færeys and Iceland; while the *Danes* were peopling and ruling half the Marchland, Lindesey, and East England. The success of those Scandinavian *wickings* was partly owing to their good discipline and the swiftness in attack and retreat which their ships gave them, but more to the fact that England was still made up of many separate states, which would not or could not act together, though no one of them alone save Wessex, which had a strong central government, was powerful enough to cope with the invaders. Moreover, though the English had been continually warring

against each other, they had hitherto had no foe from abroad to guard against, and so lacked war-vessels and coast-fortresses, for the Roman forts were fallen to decay.

4. So, as will be told below, from Ecgberht to Ælfred the West Saxon kings were continually warring against the Danes, who overran the greater part of England; but in Ælfred's reign they settled on the lands they had won, bowed to Ælfred, and became Christians. From Ælfred to Æthelred the West Saxon kings brought all England (Saxon, Mercian, and Danish alike) under one rule, casting out all the under-kings that remained, and also forced the Welsh and Scottish princes to bow to them; thus making themselves not only *kings of all England*, but also *emperors of Britain*.

Danes and
English under
same kings,
950-1012.

5. The first West Saxon who became head-king was Ecgberht, an Etheling (man of royal blood), who, being driven abroad, took refuge with the Frank king Charles the Great, the best soldier and wisest statesman of the age, who ruled over all the nations from the Ebro to the Elbe, and from the plain of the Morava to the Bay of Biscay, and was crowned Emperor of the West by the Pope at Rome in 800, while Ecgberht was with him. Two years after, Ecgberht was called home and chosen king. He was skilful and brave, and, like Charles, a close friend of the Church, which helped him very much in his plans. His reign is full of wars and triumphs. Forcing the Marchland king to bow to him after beating him at *Ellandun* (825) in a terrible battle, of which the old verse says—

Ecgberht,
802-838.

“Ellandun stream was choked with slain and foully stained with gore,”

he next conquered Kent, putting his son Æthelwulf as king there under himself, whereon the men of Saxony, Essex, and Surrey took him as their lord. The kings of East England and Northumberland also bowed to him at *Dore* and swore to be faithful. Besides this he beat the Welsh of Cornwall and Wales, and when the Danes came with large fleets to plunder Kent and Wessex he defeated them in a great battle at *Hengist's Down* (837) though they had the Welsh to help them.

6. When Ecgberht died full of years and honour, his son Æthelwulf, a pious and mild-hearted man, the friend of the monks, was chosen king, and his brother Æthelstan became Under-King of Kent in his stead. He was thrice defeated by the Danes, who attacked South England after harrying the French and German coasts; but at

Æthelwulf,
839-858.

Oakley, in 851, he and his eldest son, Æthelbald, won a victory where was greater slaughter of the heathen than had yet been heard of, and

“Men fell like corn in harvest-tide in both those mighty hosts.”

But though the Danes were defeated, they came again and even dared to winter in Sheppey in 855. “The same year King Æthelwulf booked [gave by deed] a tenth part of his land over all his realm for the love of God and his own everlasting salvation. And the same year he journeyed to Rome with great worship [honour] and was there dwelling twelve months.” He had sent his little son Ælfred there two years before, and the Pope had received him kindly and made him his godson and hallowed him as a king. On Æthelwulf’s journey home, Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, “gave him his daughter [Judith] to queen, after which he came back to his people and they were fain of his coming.”

7. But his son Æthelbald and his bishop Ealhstan rebelled against him, and took away the kingdom from Æthelbald, 856-860, and Æthelberht, (for his brother was dead). Two years after 860-866. this he died, and his body lies at Winchester.

In his will he divided his realm among his sons, the Wise Men agreeing thereto, so that Æthelbald, Æthelred, and Ælfred should be head-kings one after another, and Æthelberht, his second son, should have Kent for ever as under-king. He also ordered that for every ten *hides* of land that he had one poor person should be fed and clothed, and commanded his heirs to send three hundred gold marks to Rome every year (one hundred for lights in St. Peter’s Church, and one hundred for lights in St. Paul’s, and one hundred for the Pope to give to the poor).

So Æthelbald was chosen head-king and ruled well and prosperously, the Danes being put to flight. He married his father’s widow, Judith, after the fashion of the heathen kings, against the bidding of Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, the friend of his father. In 860 Æthelbald died sorely lamented, and his wife went back to Gaul and married again, and from her are sprung the Earls of Flanders.

Æthelberht then took the whole realm in spite of his father’s will. In his days the Danes broke into the royal city, Winchester, and plundered Kent, but they were beaten in battle. In 866 he died, and was buried by his brother at Sherborne.

8. Æthelred was now crowned king, and Ælfred his brother, who had come back from Rome, ruled with him.

That very year there came to England a mighty Host of Danes under Ingwar the Boneless, Ubba, and Halfdan, *the sons of Ragnar*, meaning to win England and settle it. There are two stories told of their coming. The English say that Osbryht, King of Northumberland, had carried off the wife of one of his nobles, Biorn the Sailor, and that Biorn called in the Danes to avenge him on the wicked king. But the Danes say that Ragnar the great wicking had been shipwrecked on the coast of Northumberland, and that the king had ordered him to be thrown into a pit full of snakes, which when his sons heard they swore to take vengeance on the English for their father's death. However this may be, the Danes took York and Nottingham, and forced the people of Northumberland and the Marchland to bow to them; and Ingwar went to East England and defeated Eadmund the under-king, a holy and righteous man, and took him and slew him with arrows. His body was laid in a town now called after him, and he was held a martyr by the English. Then in 870 the heathen Host came through the land to attack Wessex, but the West Saxons and their kings met them boldly and fought nine pitched battles against them in one year, along the West Saxon borders. In many of these the Danes got the better, but at *Ashdown* Æthelred and Ælfred won a great victory over the whole Danish host. Ælfred fought like a wild boar at bay, and many thousand of the heathen were slain, a king and five earls among them.

Æthelred
and Ælfred.
The Great Host.
866-871.

9. Soon after this Æthelred died of the wounds he had got in battle and was buried at Wimborne, and Ælfred his brother reigned in his stead. He was able for a while to keep Wessex clear of his foes, though the Danes held all the rest of England, setting up an under-king of their own choice in Marchland to rule part of it, but dividing the rest of the March and all the south of Northumberland among themselves, settling there under *King Halfdan*, and parting the land by lot, and sowing and tilling it as their own (876).

Ælfred, 871-901.
The Danes settle
Northumber-
land, North
Marchland, and
East England.

The rest of the Host, under *Guthrum* the Dane and Ubba Ragnar's son, attacked Ælfred and put him to sore distress. Ubba was slain by the Devonshire men, and all his followers and his magic banner taken—the *Raven*, which Ragnar's daughters had woven and wrought in a single night, charming it so that it should seem to flap its wings before a victory. But Guthrum built a fort at Chippenham and drove King

Ælfred into Athelney, an island in the Parret marshes, where he stayed for seven weeks in 878; but being encouraged by a vision and joined by all the good men and true out of the west, he was able to beat the Danes at Eddington and besiege them so straitly at *Chippenham* that they were obliged to make peace with him, swearing to become Christians and to leave his realm for ever. So Guthrum was baptized at Aller, King Ælfred being his godfather and giving him a new name—Æthelstan. And next year he led his people into East England, where they settled down and parted the land among them. Those who were not content to dwell in England went off to join another great host of Danes that were plundering Gaul and Germany, and some of these wicking in 921 settled in Normandy (which was called after them), under Hrolf [Rollo], and became Christians too.

It was in this war, which took up the first part of his reign, that Ælfred is said to have had all those famous adventures of his in the swineherd's hut and the Danish camp and the little island fastness. But what is certain is that his bravery saved Wessex, that from henceforward no more Danes were able to win land in England, and those who had settled in the north and east began to live peacefully among the English, being now of like faith.

10. Ælfred now set himself to work with all his might for his people's weal. Seeing that "a realm must be established by righteousness," he and his Wise Men set many good laws, both new and old, and the king had them kept, punishing evildoers, especially bad judges and robbers, very strictly. And since he found that the Danes had swept away all learning in the north of England, killing the priests and monks and burning their schools and libraries, he sent abroad for learned clerks to come and teach his people; such men as Asser the Welshman, whom he made Bishop of Sherborne, John the old Saxon, and Grimbold the Frank, and there came even wise men from Ireland to visit him, hearing of his love of knowledge. He also set up schools, to which he sent his own sons and the young nobles and gentlemen of his realm. He had many good books put into English for the unlearned, translating some of them himself, as *Bæda's History*. He also ordered the old English history down to his own day to be written in a book in English, and chained to a desk in Winchester Minster. It is from this noble *Old English Chronicle*, which was carefully kept and added to from time to time down to the

Ælfred's righteousness, learning, godliness, and wisdom.

crowning of Henry II., that most of our knowledge of England after Bæda's time comes. Ælfred also collected all the old English poems he could hear of, being very fond of them from his youth up, as the story about the pretty painted book of songs which he learned shows; but they have unfortunately been lost, as have also Ælfred's *Sayings*, and his *Handbook* of notes on all kinds of subjects.

He was a good friend to the Church, building and restoring minsters, putting good priests and bishops over his people, and giving alms to the churches in Rome, Jerusalem, and India as well as to the poor at home. His own life was godly and upright; though his health was bad he never spared himself, but worked hard, setting out his time every hour in the day to its appointed task, and taking little ease, though he was fond of hunting and hawking and singing. Ælfred, first of all English kings, found out the real way to stop the Danish invasions, by fortifying the towns, building and keeping a fleet, and so ordering his levies that in every shire in Wessex there should be half the *fyrð* (militia) under arms, while the other half were working at home. He built ships against the *ashes* "full nigh twice as large as they, some with sixty oars, some with more, both swifter and stancher and higher than the others," after his own design, and got Frisians to teach his English how to manage them. His income he divided into two halves, with the first of which he paid his servants, workmen, and the foreigners who came to see him; the other half he gave to the poor, the monks, and the school. His favourite maxim was that on the welfare of the priest, the soldier, and the yeoman depends the wellbeing of a kingdom; and, in a word, he did all he could to bring this about.

So great was his fame that the Welsh princes came of their own will and took him as their lord in 885, swearing to be faithful to him if he would keep them against the Danes. Thus he was Overlord of All Britain south of the Humber, Welsh, Danish, or English.

11. In 892 the Danish Host that had been abroad in Gaul and Germany, where the emperor overthrew them at *Löwen*, came to England under *Hæsten* and other leaders, hoping to find an easier prey; but Ælfred and his alderman and son-in-law Æthelred of the Marchland took their ships and forts, till in 897 they gave up all hope of winning England, and hiring ships of their Christian kinsmen, went off to Gaul, leaving the English

Ælfred's last
wars against
Hæsten, 892-897.

power unbroken, though it had been sorely tried by a plague during the last three years of the war, in which many men and beasts perished. So, after all, Ælfred's reign ended peacefully; he died on the 26th October 901, and his body was laid in the New Abbey which he founded at Winchester. Never has a nobler king ruled over Englishmen, or one more worthy of honour than "Ælfred the truth-teller, England's darling."

CHAPTER VI.

The English Emperor-Kings.

Eadweard, Ælfred's son, and his descendants had to finish the work Ælfred had begun for them; he had forced the Danes to settle and become Christians, they were to bring the *Danelaw* (as England north and west of Watling Street, which they had settled, was called) bit by bit under their own rule.

Eadweard the Elder (901-925) wins back East England.

The beginning of Eadweard's reign was stormy, as one of his cousins, wishing to be king in his stead, brought the Danes of York and East England upon him. But the English king killed both him and Eohric Guthrum's son, and made the peace of *Yttingford* in 906 with the new Danish under-king Guthrum Eohricsson, on the same terms as Ælfred and the first Guthrum's peace at Chippenham. In 911, Kings Halfdan and Ecwils of Northumberland were beaten and killed at *Wodensfield*. In 912, when his brother-in-law died, Eadweard gave the aldermanship to his widow, Æthelflæd, the famous Lady of the Marchland. Brother and sister laboured for seven years to secure the kingdom against the Danes, by building a line of forts across the land from Bedford to Runcorn, she beginning from the west and he from the east; the Welsh meanwhile giving Æthelflæd a good deal of trouble till she took their queen at Brecknock, while Eadweard had to drive the *Great Host*, which for the last time tried to land, away to Ireland. Still the work went steadily on till, after the East England Danes had lost their king at *Tempsford* fight, Eadweard reached Stamford, whereupon they and the Danes of the North-east Marchland submitted to him, while those of York and Leicester sought peace of his sister. At this hour of success (922) Æthelflæd fell ill at her palace at Tamworth,

and was buried at Gloster, "being a woman godly, righteous, and wise, following in all things the footsteps of Ælfred her father."

2. Hearing that the Danish King of York wished to marry her daughter Ælfwyn, Eadweard now took the great aldermanship into his own hand, cutting it up into *shires* or sections, each with its own alderman and shire-reeve, so becoming sole ruler of all England south of Trent; and in 924, when the Welsh Prince of Cumbria, and Regnald the Danish King of York and the King of Scots, and their peoples, "chose him to father and lord," he was *Emperor of all Britain* within the four seas. In 925 this *Unconquered King* died and was laid beside his father, whom he equalled in worth, excelled in power, and only fell short of in learning. Eadweard also found time for other matters besides war, for he made many good laws and set up new bishoprics in the south of England.

3. His son Æthelstan, a slight, handsome, golden-haired young man, was the favourite of his grandfather Ælfred, who prophesied that he would be a good king some day, and made him a knight when he was yet a child by giving him a red cloak, a jewelled belt, and a Saxon sword in a golden sheath. He was brought up by his aunt Æthelflæd, from whom he learned the wisdom that is to be found in books as well as the way to rule men. There was great joy at his crowning at Kingston, feasts and bonfires all over the south of England. He began his reign by making the Welsh, Scottish, and Danish under-kings and earls renew to himself at *Eamote* in 926 the oaths they had taken to his father. And when, in 937, the turbulent Constantine of Scotland sent for his son-in-law, the Northmen's king, Anlaf o' the Sandal, from Ireland, and, breaking the peace and his oaths, marched into England, where the wicking fleet joined him, Æthelstan and his brother Eadmund the Etheling met them in battle, when, as the poem in the *Old English Chronicle* says—

" Life-long worship

They won in the strife : with the edge of the sword
 Round Brunanbury : as behoved them the blood
 Of their fathers within them : to stand in the fight
 Against every loathed foeman : aye keeping their land,
 Their hoard, and their home. The hot fighters bowed down,
 The Scottish folk : the Men of the Fleet,
 Fell death doomed : the field streamed

With swordsmen's blood : from when the sun
At morning-tide : (most clear of stars)
Glided first o'er the deep : (bright candle of God)
Till the Lord Everlasting's : excellent handiwork
Sunk to its seat. There lay smitten
On the field of battle : five young kings
Lulled by the sword : and seven lords by them,
Earls of Anlaf : an host untold
Of the Fleet and the Scots. Put to flight there
Was the Lord of the Northmen : driven by need
To the bow of his bark : with a little band only,
They pushed her afloat : and the king got away
Over dark waters. Constantine also,
The hoary war-hero : never dare boast him
Of that clashing of blades. He was shorn of his kindred,
Reft of his friends : on that place of fray
Stricken low in the strife. His son too he left
On the field of death : worn down by his wounds.
But the King and the Etheling : sought their own country,
The West Saxons' land : with their war-glory on them,
Leaving behind them : a banquet of corpses
For the greedy war-hawk : and that grey beast
The wolf of the wold. Was never more slaughter
In this island : since hitherward
English and Saxons : came up from the east
Over the broad sea : and won this our land."

After this battle Æthelstan had little more trouble with the Scots or Northmen. He laid a tribute on the Welsh of Wales, and took Devonshire from the Welsh of Cornwall, setting English people in Exeter, fortifying it, and making it a great trading port.

His great deeds made him famous, and many foreign kings sought his friendship. Harold Fairhair of Norway sent him his son to foster, and gave him a fine warship with a gilt prow and purple sails, and a row of gilt and painted shields round the gunwales. Hugh, Duke of the Franks, sought his sister in marriage, and sent him the Sword of Constantine, and the Spear of Charles the Great, and the holy Banner of S. Maurice as gifts, besides a piece of the True Cross, which was counted the most precious of all. Another sister was already married to the Emperor Otto, and two others afterwards wedded the King of Arles and the King of the Franks. On October 27, 941, Æthelstan died, and his body lies in Malmesbury Minster, to which he had given the morsel of the True Cross and many other noble gifts. He was brave and open-handed, mild to the poor, lowly to the clergy, and stern to the nobles. His laws were many and good.

4. Eadmund his brother, who had fought by his side at Brunanbury, was now chosen king. He got the whole Danelaw south of Humber into his hands, and made it part of his own kingdom for ever. Of this *Reconquest of the Five Boroughs*—Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby—the old Song in the *English Chronicle* says:—

Eadmund the
Deed-doer (941-
946) wins back
the Five
Boroughs.

“ They were aforetime
Beneath the Northmen : bowed by need
In the heathen’s : thralling chains
For many days : until he freed them
To his worship : that sure helper in war,
The heir of Eadweard : Eadmund the king.”

He also warred with the Danes in Northumberland, and got them to become Christian; and he took Cumbria from its Welsh princes, and “let it all to Malcolm the Scots’ king on the understanding that he would be his fellow-worker both by sea and land.” He was killed in his own hall at Pucklechurch by an outlaw named Leof, who on S. Augustine’s Day, 26th May 946, when he knew that he could not be lawfully slain, dared to sit down at the king’s table, and threatened the cupbearer, who wished to put him out. Eadmund, seeing him, leaped up, caught him by the hair, and threw him on the floor, but before any one could come up Leof drew his knife and thrust it through the king as he held him down. His body was buried at Glastonbury by his friend Dunstan, whom he had made abbot there.

5. Eadred his brother now became king. He conquered Northumberland, driving out Eiric Bloodax, son of Harold Fairhair, King of the Norwegians (whom the Danes had called in to be their king), and setting aldermen or *earls* (as the Northmen named them) at Bamborough and York to rule under himself, giving the northernmost part, the *Lothians*, round Edinburgh to the King of Scots to hold of him as he already held Cumbria. Eadred was always weak in health, and he died completely broken down in 955 at Frome. His body lies in the old minster at Winchester.

Eadred (946-
955) wins back
Northumber-
land.

Of Eiric Bloodax many stories are told. Once while

“ In grim helm crowned • he held the land,
And ruled as king • with heart of iron
And dripping brand • in York’s good burgh,”

an Iclander, Egil the poet, who had fought against him as henchman of the English king, was driven by stress of weather

into the Humber, brought before him, and doomed to death as a traitor. But since it was then dark he was spared till next morning, and during the night as he lay sleepless he made a fine poem, in a new rhymed metre, in praise of the king's prowess and generosity, and sung it to him as ransom for his head. It has been preserved, and two of its burdens, telling of Eiric's battles in England by land and sea, run—

"The spear-points clashed • the sword-blades gnashed !
Great praise of men • gat Eiric then !"

"He bent the yew • the wound-bees [arrows] flew !
The waves washed prey • to the wolves that day !"

When Eiric fell at *Stainmoor* in 956 his wife Gunhild had a splendid dirge made over him, wherein it is sung how Woden welcomed him and the five kings that fell with him to *Wale-hall*, where the heathen heroes sit and feast with the gods.

6. The sons of Eadweard had thus not only got into their own hands all the land the Danes had taken and settled, but were now ruling all England *immediately* without any under-kings. This Settlement of the Danes, which covered the land between Watling Street and the borders of Essex and Bedford to the south, and Tyne to the north, and can be traced by the endings *-by* and *-thwaite*, which replaced the English *-ton* and *-ham*, is a very important thing in English history. Not only did it help to change our tongue by bringing in many words such as *law, call, happy, fellow, skin, leg, wing, are, they, there, their*, which we have preferred to their English equivalents, but had it not been for it, the whole of England would, like the south, have been *feudalized*, whereas this incoming of fresh Teutonic immigrants, filling the places of those English who had perished in the wars, kept the Danelaw at least in its old ways, so that it was, as in the eighth century, the home of a nation of freeland-holding yeomen and franklins, ruling themselves and managing their own affairs, down to the days when the Normans came.

But south and west of Watling Street a very different state of things had come about : during the long Danish wars the free yeoman, pressed by hunger, had given up his *ethel* to his richer neighbour, and sunk to be the rent-paying *cottar* of the gentry. The gentry, too, having all become *Thegens* either of the king, the aldermen, or the Church, now held all their lands on condition of service ; for they had given up their *ethels* too, taking them back as *thegen-land* in return

for protection promised them. In fact land in the south of England was no longer *allodial* but *feudal* [held by rent, whether payable in kind, money, or service], and the government was almost entirely in the hands of the king and great men; excepting in the cities, where the householders, being richer and better protected by their walls, had been able to keep their old rights in great degree. The king's power also had grown in the wars; he held great state now like the kings abroad, with his Court officers—Staller [Marshall], Dish-thegen [Butler], Bower-thegen [Chamberlain], Hoardsman [Treasurer], and Redesmen [Counsellors of State]—about him. We hear more of the Wise Men and less of the Folk-moots in law-making and governing, but of course all this strengthening of the central power was needful if England was to become really one, and where the people were allowed to manage their own local affairs themselves, did little harm.

7. In the north the people, being many of them new converts, were zealous in wishing to reform the Church in the south, where the nobles and king had got to treat the richer monasteries and cathedrals rather too much as places in which their younger sons and daughters could live comfortable lives; for even the monks and canons were growing lazy in riches, and having left their duties in the world, were, many of them, becoming careless of their duties in the minster. So that the more zealous Churchmen were trying both to bring in stricter rules among the monks themselves, and to replace the married priests in the cathedrals by monks under these rules, who they thought would work harder for the Church and the poor.

Church reforms
resisted by
southern nobles.

8. On these accounts the *yeomen* and *bishops* of the north were often at odds with the *great nobles* of the south, and when Eadred died their quarrel broke out openly over the choice of a king. The south made Eadwig the Fair head-king, but the north insisted on having an under-king of their own, and chose his brother Eadgar. Whether by his own fault or not, Eadwig did not get on well; he quarrelled with Oda the archbishop, the head of the reforming party, about his marriage, which was declared to be contrary to church law; he banished Dunstan, the cleverest man in England, and after all was forced by Oda and Eadgar to put away his beautiful wife. How it would all have ended we cannot tell, for Eadwig died in 959.

Eadwig the Fair,
955-959.

9. Eadgar his brother now ruled alone, he made Dunstan, his father's friend, whom he had recalled from exile, Arch-

bishop of Canterbury on Oda's death, and governed by his advice all his days. Though Dunstan was a monk and a reformer, he managed to please the people of the south as well as the north, and the glories of the reign of Eadgar, the most prosperous king of his race, are largely owing to his minister's wisdom.

Dunstan was born about 915, and sent by his father, Heahstan, to school at Glastonbury, whence he went as a youth to the court of Æthelstan; but his talents made the other young thegens jealous, and they behaved so badly to him that he was persuaded to give up his hopes of a worldly career and become a monk. After passing a little time in retirement, he became chaplain to a rich lady, and now people seeing his wisdom and goodness began to think much of him and ask his advice in all kinds of matters; for besides his deep book-learning he was skilled in handicrafts, masonry, carpentering, smith-work, metal-casting, could draw, paint, and design beautifully, was an excellent musician, playing, singing, and composing well, and being especially fond of those old English songs and lays which Ælfred too had delighted in. He was also believed to have visions from which he was able to foretell the future. In Eadmund's days Dunstan came to court again, and the king seeing his worth, and moved by a narrow escape he had from death when hunting—he just checked his horse in time at the very brink of a high cliff—bethought him of the unkindness with which this pious young priest had formerly been treated, and to show his sorrow for not having stopped it made him Abbot of Glastonbury. In person Dunstan was small and slight, square headed, light haired, and bright eyed, he had a winning way which drew people to him, was a good and ready speaker, and feared nothing but sin. When Eadwig had banished him he had gone to Gaunt, and saw the strict way the monks lived in there, so, now that he was in power, he made the English monks live under this *new rule*, and though he himself was careful not to offend any one by his changes, Bishops Oswald and Æthelwald his friends were not slow in carrying out Oda's plans, and turning married priests out of the cathedrals and enforcing other reforms which the great nobles in the south did not at all like. They also built many new monasteries and nunneries and restored others, in which the king gave them ready help.

10. At the beginning of Eadgar's reign the Scots and Welsh, after their wont, began to make trouble, but Kenneth was pacified by the gift of Lothian being confirmed to him,

and Judwal of Wales had the famous wolves-head tribute laid on him to punish his rebellion. In 973 Eadgar was solemnly crowned at Bath and thence went to Chester, where there met him six under-kings—the King of Scots and his kinsman and vassal the King of Cumbria, the King of Man, a Northman, and three Welsh kings, who all swore to be faithful to him. It is told that he was rowed down the Dee to S. John's Minster by these six princes, he himself steering; when he told his courtiers, "Those who come after me may indeed call themselves kings, since I have had such honour." Eadgar kept three fleets, one on each coast, south, east, and west of England, which were continually sailing along, guarding the sea-shore from the Danes, who feared him so much that even their kings in Dublin submitted to him.

Eadgar the
Peace-winner
(955-975),
Emperor of all
Britain.

Eadgar's laws were very stern, and he protected trade by putting down all wrecking and black-mailing of merchants, and keeping the roads clear of thieves and robbers. He governed his kingdom well, though if the songs about him be true, he could not always govern himself, for it is said that his late crowning (seven years after it should have been) was through a penance Dunstan laid on him because he had carried off a nun. His people, however, rightly loved his good rule, and mourned when, as the old verses tell—

" Making an end : of the joys of this earth,
Eadgar the English king : chose him another light
Lovely and winsome : and went from this poor life,
This weak life of ours."

11. Now north and south again struggled for a king, but Dunstan got Eadweard, Eadgar's elder son, chosen, though the Queen Ælfthryth and Alderman Ælfhere of the Marchland, with the southern nobles, wished for her son Æthelred. However Dunstan could not prevent Ælfhere from putting back the married priests in several cathedrals, breaking the new rules of the monasteries, and doing much else against the good laws of King Eadgar and Bishop Æthelwald. And more ill yet would have happened had it not been for an accident at Calne, when, during a Wise Men's Meeting, while a fierce attack was being made upon Dunstan's conduct, the floor gave way and all were dashed down, killed or hurt, save the archbishop, who was standing on the only beam which did not break. Thinking this a sign from God in his favour,

Eadweard
the Martyr,
975-978.

his enemies dared not go as far as they wished against Dunstan, though they had made up their minds to rule even at the cost of a crime. On the 18th of March 978, Eadweard, who had no knowledge of their illwill to him, rode out in the evening alone to his stepmother's house in the wood near Corfe to ask after a favourite dwarf of his whom he hoped to find there. Ælfthryth came out to answer his questions and begged him to alight, but he would not. Then she offered him a horn of wine, which as he was tired and thirsty he took. As he was drinking it to her health one of her followers thrust a broad knife into his left side. The king with a great cry fell swooning from his saddle, and the frightened horse dashed off dragging him along the rough wood-path by the stirrup-leather, which did not break till he was dead. When his men saw the horse come in bloody and riderless they went to seek him, but the queen had had the body taken up secretly and cast into a ditch, where it was found by a priest and buried with little honour at Wareham. A few of the Wise Men hastily met and chose Æthelred king. But though the murderers had got their wish, and Ælfthryth's son was crowned, it did not profit them, and Dunstan, as he hallowed the new king, prophesied evil on the reign that had begun so ill. Eadweard was held a martyr by the monks and the northern English; and Ælfhere, repenting, brought his body with great honour to Shaftesbury, where miracles were believed to be wrought by his tomb. The wicked queen, also stricken by remorse, went into a nunnery at Werewell, where "she served God in sackcloth and ashes" till her death. As the old song says of Eadweard—

"Men murdered him : but God hath magnified him,
He was in life : an earthly king,
He is now after death : a heavenly saint.
His earthly kinsmen : would not avenge him,
But his Heavenly Father : hath mightily avenged him.
They that would not aforetime : bow to his living body
Now kneel meekly ; to his dead bones."

CHAPTER VII.

The Danish Kings of England.

1. The West Saxon line of kings had reached their greatest power, and were now to fall before their old foes

the Danes, who came not as in Ælfred's time to settle and repeople the land, but merely to change for a time the royal line, and, by their strong central government and plan of ruling by viceroys, the *great earls* found an English peerage like that of France, which when they themselves left the throne, governed England for twenty-five years as it would, and only fell before a second foreign invasion of Northmen. That Danish kings came to rule in England at all was largely the fault of the young king, who was in every way unlike the noble rulers of the six generations before him. He cared for nothing but his own selfish pleasures, leaving the government to the evil counsellors and treacherous favourites in whom he trusted. When he did act of himself his behaviour was foolish, cruel, and unjust. Dunstan, that "Star of the Church," dying early in the reign, but not before he had had occasion to rebuke the young king for regarding "silver rather than righteousness in his judgments," there was no one to check his wickedness.

Æthelred the
Ill-counselled,
979-1015.

2. Just at this moment the Danes and Northmen being hard pressed by civil war and by the Great Famine of 976, which was sorely felt in Norway and Denmark, began to attack England, where they found a different welcome to that their fathers had got from Eadweard and Æthelstan. Not that the English were loath to defend themselves, for with a wise king to head them they could have kept their country safe enough. Such a fight as *Maldon*, 988, shows this well enough, where, as the Lay tells us, Byrthnoth the Old, Alderman of East England, withstood the Northmen's king, Anlaf Tryggvisson himself, and being struck down in the fight was nobly revenged by his thegens, who vowed not to fly a step, and fell one by one over his body. So too, in 994, when Anlaf and King Swegen Forkbeard the Dane came against London with more than five hundred ships, and attacked the city with fire and sword, "they got more hurt than they ever thought any burghers could do them," and were beaten off so bravely that Anlaf agreed to make peace, be confirmed (he had been baptized before in the Scillies), and promise never to come to England as an enemy again. But the courage and skill of the people were made of no effect by the laziness of Æthelred; the folly of the Wise Men, who were persuaded into buying off the Danes with gold, which of course was a mere inducement to them to come again; and the treason of Ælfric, who had succeeded Ælfhere as Alderman of the

Ravages of the
Danes and
Northmen,
988-1001.

Marchland. Thus in 999, when Swegen and his Danes were harrying Kent, the king and the Wise Men settled to go against them with both the fleet and the army; "but when the ships were ready, they put it off from day to day and wore out the poor fellows on board the ships with toil, and ever the more forward things ought to have been, the later they were, time after time, and ever they let their foemen's host wax greater. And in the end the cruise came to nought but people's toil and waste of money and the emboldening of their enemies."

3. In 1002, thinking that a friendship with the Normans would be of help to him (for the Danish kings and the Dukes of Rouen were allied) Æthelred married Duke Richard's sister Emma (whom the English called Ælfgifu), a beautiful but cold-hearted and selfish woman. But this step again was of little profit, for he brought his foes upon him again with double violence by ordering all the Danes that happened to be in England to be put to death on S. Brice's Day, November 13, giving out that he had been warned they were about to betray him and all his Wise Men and take the kingdom. Among those then killed in cold blood was Gunhild, Swegen's sister, with her husband and child. Whereupon Swegen swore an oath to take Æthelred's realm from him, and came to England with a large fleet. Thither shortly followed Earl Thurcytel the Tall with sixty ships full of soldiers, most of whom had once been wickings and buccaneers, and were still heathen. As usual, the aldermen of the Marchmen, Ælfric and his successor Eadric Streona, betrayed their country to the enemy, while the East English behaved best of all. Their alderman Ulfcytel the Swift, who, like Eadric, had married one of Æthelred's daughters, coming upon the enemy as they were marching to their fleet with the plunder of *Thetford*, "many on both sides fell; but if the English had been in full strength, the Danes (as they themselves said) would never have got to their ships, for Ulfcytel showed them such hard play as they had never yet met." And at *Balsham* an Englishman, whose name is lost, held the church tower single-handed against a whole band of wickings till they left the place.

But the Danes were too strong for any single shire, and ere long sixteen counties were overrun by these "locusts," though the Wise Men met time after time, and the whole land was taxed to raise and keep the fleets and arm them; "but the people's labour was lightly cast away through want of wisdom, for they would neither buy off their enemies at

**King Swegen
conquers Eng-
land, 1002-1013.**

the right time, nor fight with them, but when they had done all the ill they could, then they bought peace of them."

In 1011 Canterbury was betrayed to Earl Thurcytel and his buccaneers, and Archbishop Ælfheah taken.

They wished to put him to ransom, but he would not have the Church or the poor robbed for his sake, and refused. This made them very

Archbishop
Ælfheah
murdered,
19th April 1012.

angry, and "on Saturday evening, in the octave of Easter, when they were all drunk with wine they had got from Gaul, they took the archbishop to their *husting*," and though Thurcytel offered them all that he had save his own ship to let the old man go, pelted him with ox-heads and bones till one of them in pity slew him outright with an axe. Thurcytel was so angry that he and many of his followers left the rest and made peace with the king and entered his service. The archbishop's body was given up to the Londoners, who buried it in state and paid honours to Ælfheah as a saint and martyr ever after.

4. At last, in 1013, all England began to see that it would be better to obey a foreign king than bear what they were now bearing for such a man as Æthelred, and the whole land submitted to Swegen;

Swegen
Forkbeard,
1013-1014.

Æthelred going on board Thurcytel's ships with his family and sailing to Normandy, where he stayed till Swegen died. When this happened, in 1014, the Danish army chose Cnut, Swegen's son, as king, but the English Wise Men sent to Æthelred and told him "that they loved no lord better than their own natural lord, if he would rule them rightlier than he did before." And he answered "that he would be their true lord and right that they misliked, and forgive all that had been said or done against him." So he came back, and every Danish king was declared an outlaw in England.

But Eadric the Grasper quarrelled with Eadmund Ironside, Æthelred's son, and joined Cnut with his Marchmen. Thurcytel also changed sides, and as the Londoners chose Eadmund for their king in 1016, when Æthelred died, the whole country was torn in two by their partisans. Six pitched battles were fought, the last of which at *Ashington* Cnut won, after a struggle in which Ulfcytel the Swift was killed by Thurcytel (in revenge for his brother Heming, whom the East English alderman had slain), and nearly all the English nobles fell. After this Eadric and the Wise Men brought the kings together at *Olney*, and made them agree to divide the realm, Cnut taking Northumberland and the March, and Eadmund East Eng-

Eadmund Iron-
side, 1016.

land and Wessex. So matters stood till the end of the year (November 30), when Eadric had his noble young brother-in-law murdered and Cnut was left sole king. Eadmund's body was laid at Glastonbury.

5. Cnut was wise and faithful, and made up his mind to rule England like an English-born king. As soon, therefore, as he made his crown safe, by marrying Ælfifu, Æthelred's widow, killing such traitors as Eadric and banishing the kinsmen of the last kings, he paid off and sent home nearly all his Danish troops, and dividing England into four *great earldoms* (Northumberland, Marchland, East England, and Wessex), put an earl over each under himself. Having such a mighty empire, for when he died he was king of the Ostmen, Northmen, and Danes, as well as the English, he was often away warring abroad, where his English thegens (especially Godwine, whom he made Earl of Wessex and married to his kinswoman) showed great skill and bravery. But Cnut paid the greatest attention to his English kingdom, making laws for it, and protecting it from the inroads of the Scottish kings, whom he compelled to swear faithfulness to him.

To the Church he was a generous friend, building up the minsters and churches that suffered in the wars, raising stone chapels at Ashington and other places where he had won battles, and giving many gifts to cathedrals and minsters at home and abroad. He also took the body of Ælfheah from London to Canterbury with great state. It is well known how he rebuked his courtiers for their flattery by Southampton Water when the tide was coming in, and it is said that after this he never wore his crown again, but hung it on the Rood at Winchester, and set out for Rome to pray there for the forgiveness of his sins and the welfare of his people.

The Pope and Emperor were glad to see him, and promised to let all English pilgrims henceforward pass freely through their dominions, and gave him many costly gifts. He wrote home from Rome a letter to his people, in which he says, "I have vowed to God Almighty Himself to amend my life from this day in all ways, and to rule with righteousness and mercy, giving upright judgments. I therefore bid all my sheriffs and servants throughout my kingdom, as they care for my goodwill and their own safety, to use no unrighteous violence against any man rich or poor, but that all alike, high or low, shall enjoy fair law. Nor let any man turn aside therefrom, either for the favour of the king,

Cnut the
Mighty,
1016-1035.

or the power of the great, or to get money wrongfully, for I have no need to heap up wealth by unrighteousness. I have sent this letter before me that my people may be gladdened by my welfare, for as ye yourselves know, I have never spared, nor will I ever spare, myself or my labour in taking care for the needs of all my people." And it is certain that under his good rule England recovered from the misfortunes of Æthelred's reign, and enjoyed peace and safety.

Like other great kings, Cnut took delight in useful works, going on with the drainage of the Fens, and building towers and bridges and churches of stone (little used till his day save for church building). A great deal of Cnut's success was owing to his guard of *House-carles*, two or three thousand picked men (many of them Thurcytel's buccaneers), whom he paid highly and kept strictly under laws which he himself gave them. This little standing army, which was always with him, was held the finest body of soldiers in the world.

In 1035 Cnut died at Shaftesbury, and was buried at Winchester. He was a little man, but strong of body, pleasant spoken, but keeping his thoughts to himself till he was ready to act, fond of riches, yet spending them wisely, a good judge of men and not easily deceived. He was fond of hunting, and of poetry and singing. The verses he made about the monks of Ely's chanting are well known.

6. Soon after Cnut's death the Wise Men all met at Oxford, and Earl Leofric of Marchland and most all the thegens north of the Thames, and the men of the fleet at London, chose Harold as king, but Earl Godwine and the West Saxon lords withstood this as far as they could, but could not prevail. Their favourite, Hartha-Cnut, was, however, made King of the South to please them; but as he was also chosen king in Denmark, he did not come to England, and left his mother Emma and Earl Godwine to rule for him. Harold, the son of Cnut and a Northamptonshire lady, hated Emma, his step-mother, took away the jewels his father had given her, and sent for her two sons by Æthelred, who were living in Normandy, to come to England, entrapping them by false words. When they came Godwine seized Ælfred and his followers and gave them up to Harold's men, who put most of them to death very cruelly, and blinded the Etheling so that he died of the wounds. Edward his brother was luckily able to leave England unhurt and sail back to Normandy. Next year the West Saxons got tired of Hartha-Cnut's staying away, and choosing Harold for king, drove Emma out of England.

Harold Hare-
foot and Har-
tha-Cnut,
1035-1042.

She went to Bruges, whither her son, Hartha-Cnut, came to her, and began to get ready a fleet to invade England and turn out his half-brother, when, before he could start, Harold died. Hartha-Cnut was sent for and chosen king at once. His rule was stern. He had his brother's body dug up and cast into a sewer, and brought Godwine to trial for Ælfred's murder; but there were no witnesses, so the earl was allowed to clear himself by oath, and by Leofric's advice he brought back the king's favour by the gift of a splendid war-galley, with arms for eighty men aboard. Heavy taxes were raised to pay off the fleet that had come with the king, and they were sent home. Edward was called back from Normandy and kindly welcomed by his brother, and things were going on well, when Hartha-Cnut went to the wedding of one of his great officers at Lambeth, and as he stood up to pledge the married pair, suddenly fell to the ground in awful anguish. They that were next him picked him up, but he never spoke word more, and died there on the 8th of June 1042.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Great Earls. Edward and Harold.

1. Edward was chosen king, greatly by Godwine's help
Edward the
Confessor,
1042-1066. (ere Hartha-Cnut his brother was laid beside his father at Winchester), and hallowed in the old English fashion on Easter Day 1042, the archbishop making him swear to take care of the Church, put down all unrighteousness, and keep the peace. He was a quiet, pious man, loving the Normans, with whom he had been brought up, and their polished clerkly ways, and listening too much perhaps to their advice. But England was now really ruled by the three great earls—*Siward the Stout* of Northumberland, the conqueror of Macbeth and dread of the Scots, a stern old warrior as Shakespere paints him, who refused to die in his bed like a cow when his last illness came upon him, but called for his mail-coat and helmet, and so, axe in hand, met death; *Leofric* of the Marchland, the peacemaker, wise in the things of God and the world also; and, greatest of all, *Godwine* of Wessex, the clever, persuasive statesman, whose sons Swegen and Harold had the earldoms of Hereford and East England, and whose daughter Eadgyth King Edward married. The king himself did little

save in Church matters, which he and his Norman chaplains settled their own way, trying to bring in the French Church customs and greater strictness of life. England was now at rest and happy—in spite of a few bad seasons; some inroads of the Welsh and Northern wickings, quickly stopped; and the wickedness of Earl Swegen, who carried off the Abbess of Leominster, and killed his own cousin Biorn in cold blood, for which he was rightly outlawed—till 1050.

2. In that year Earl Eustace of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, came over sea, and having been with Edward for a while set out for home. "A few miles or more before they got to Dover he and all his men put on their mail-coats, and when they reached the town, tried to quarter themselves where they liked. One of them trying to get into a man's house against his will wounded him, and was slain by the householder. Then Eustace got on his horse, and his men on theirs, and rode up and killed the man on his own hearth. Then they rode down the town killing about twenty men, and the burghers killed nineteen of them and wounded many more. Eustace burst out with a few men, and went to the king and told him how he had fared, and the king was very angry and bade Godwine go and make war against Dover, for Eustace had told the king that the guilt was the burghers' not his, though it was not so." However, Godwine would not go, being loath to harm his own people, and fearing the king's anger he gathered a large army to overawe him. The king sent for Leofric and Siward, and it looked like the beginning of a civil war, when after several parleys and a delay which tired out Godwine's men, the great earl and all his family were banished and the queen sent to a nunnery.

The Norman clerks, especially Robert the monk, whom the king made Archbishop of Canterbury in remembrance of his kindness to him when in exile, now advised the king to send for William, Duke of Normandy, his kinsman, and make him his heir; and he came with a great company of Frenchmen and paid Edward a visit. William, the fifth from Hrolf, first Earl of Rouen, left (by his father Robert's untimely death abroad on a pilgrimage in 1035) a child in the midst of enemies, had nevertheless by his wisdom and bravery overcome them all, and was now, though still a young man, the most powerful prince in France. His tall stately form, dark hair, stern look, and reserved manners formed a complete contrast with the blithe ways, mild

*The Norman
favourites get
Godwine out-
lawed, 1050-
1052.*

reverent face, and snow-white hair and beard of his cousin, though they had many tastes in common, hunting, love of learning, and deep interest in the welfare of the Church. Edward took the duke round great part of his realm with him and entertained him and his men very generously, sending them away with splendid gifts, and no doubt some promise to do all he could to get William the crown after his own death.

3. However in 1052 Godwine and his sons gathered men in Ireland and Flanders, and having ravaged the west of England, came to London, where the king and his men lay, with fifty ships, and sent to the king praying him to do them justice and inlaw them again. The king withstood their demands for some time, so long indeed that the earl's army were very greatly stirred against him, so that Godwine himself could hardly keep them still; while the king's men were very loath to fight against their own countrymen, nor did they wish the land to lie still more open to foreigners through their killing each other. Then Bishop Stigand and the Wise Men agreed to make peace, inlaw Godwine and his sons, and outlaw the French and Normans for raising the trouble between the earl and king. Robert and his friends as soon as they heard this leaped on horseback and rode through the town to the shore, cutting down all in their path, and then taking a leaky ship they found there, set sail at once for Normandy. The queen was called back, Stigand was made archbishop in Robert's room, and the power of the Godwine family became stronger than ever. Next Easter Monday the Great Earl died suddenly, stricken with palsy, as he sat at meat with the king, which gave rise to many tales against him. Earl Harold took his place (for Swegen, the elder brother, had died abroad on a pilgrimage) and filled it wisely and well, beating the Welsh so that they were never after a danger to England, taking care that the law was kept, and so winning the love of all save Edward's Norman priests, whose reforms he did not care for (though he was a pious man himself, and had even made a pilgrimage to Rome), and his own brother Tostig, who was made Earl of Northumberland when Siward died, and ruled so harshly that Harold was driven to interfere. Gurth and Leofwine, Godwine's younger sons, also got earldoms, East England and Kent. So that though, when Leofric died, Ælfgar his son, a turbulent man and friend of the Welsh, succeeded to the Marchland, two-thirds of England were in the hands of the sons of Godwine.

Godwine inlawed. Harold's power, 1052-1066.

About this time, as Harold was on a cruise in the Channel, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, and imprisoned by the earl till he should pay ransom; but William of Normandy had him set free, asked him to Rouen, and treated him with great friendliness, getting him, however, to swear to marry one of his daughters, and help him to be King of England when Edward died, and to make the oath more binding he made him swear by a shrine which, unknown to Harold, was full of the bones of the saints.

In 1065 the Northumbrians came together and outlawed their earl Tostig, and slew all his house-carles, and took all his weapons and gold and silver that were in York, and sent for Morkere, Ælfgar's son, and chose him for their earl. They then marched south with the men of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln, and Eadwine of the Marchland (for Ælfgar his father was dead), and many Welsh. The king sent Harold to them to try and make a settlement between them, for Tostig was a great favourite at court; "but he could not, for the Northumbrians forsook Tostig with one consent, both because he robbed God and also because he used to strip all those whom he could of life and land." Edward was forced, much against his will, to grant their wishes and banish Tostig, who went south over sea with his wife to Earl Baldwin of Flanders, his father-in-law, and wintered at S. Omer. At midwinter King Edward came to Westminster and hallowed the minster he had built there himself, to the glory of God and S. Peter and All Hallows, on Childermass Day, and on Twelfth Night

"There suddenly came
Death the bitter : and that dear Prince
Took from the earth. The angels bore
His soothfast soul : into heaven's light.
But the wise king : bestowed his realm
On one grown great : on Harold's self,
A noble earl. Who in all times
Faithfully hearkened : to his lord
In word and deed : nor ever failed
In aught the king : had needed of him."

Edward's holy life "that spoke him full of grace," and "the heavenly gift of prophecy" he had, gained him the title of Confessor, and made him for many years the favourite saint of the south of England, as S. Cuthbert was in the north and S. Edmund in the east. It is told that on his death-bed he spoke earnestly of wars to come, but Stigand laughed at his words as a sick man's raving. There was also a

comet seen soon after, which frightened people much, as they took it for a token of wars and troubles.

4. Harold was crowned by the wish of the late king and the choice of the people on Twelfth Mass Day (6th January), the royal blood he had from his mother being enough to allow of his being taken as king, since he was so much the best man in England. Soon after he was crowned he married Ealdgyth, widow of Gryffydd, King of Wales, his old enemy, and daughter of Earl Ælfgar, that he might gain the goodwill of her two brothers, for his kingdom was threatened on all hands. As William was going out to hunt one morning, a messenger reached him with the news of Edward's death and Harold's crowning. He turned home at once without a word, and after taking thought, and first sending to Harold to bid him remember his oath and give up the kingdom, made up his mind to invade England, for the answer was that the choice of the people and Wise Men had been made and could not be altered. William began his preparations at once, getting many promises of help from his own barons, and gathering men from all lands to join his army in the hopes of good pay and plunder and the blessing on the undertaking which the Pope had sent the duke with a consecrated banner. For he was angry with Harold for his perjury and with Stigand for taking Robert's place, not having had any right explanation of their reasons. But while this huge host was fitting out on the French coast, Tostig had got together a force of Flemings, and was set upon winning back his earldom by force; and Harold Hardrede [stern of counsel], King of Norway, choosing the time as a fit one for carrying out his long-cherished plan of trying to gain the English crown, had started across the North Sea and reached the Orkneys, whence he was going to coast southwards.

To meet William, his most dreaded foe, Harold gathered the biggest army and fleet yet seen in England, and went to Sandwich to watch his enemies. Tostig, who lay off there with 60 ships, sailed away to the Humber and tried to land, but Eadwine and Morkere drove him off with loss, his own sailors forsook him, and he fled with 12 smacks to Scotland, where he met Harold of Norway and the Orkney earls with 300 ships, and they agreed to go to England together. Harold Godwine's son meanwhile went with all his host and fleet to the Isle of Wight, waiting for William, till, on the 8th of September, the provisions having given out, the

people could stay no longer away from home. Just as the ships had got to London, and the people reached their several shires, Harold and Tostig sailed into the Humber and up the Ouse to York, beat Eadwine and Morkere at Fulford, and entered the city on Wednesday the 20th of September. The people made peace with them, and agreed to give them hostages of their faith and go with them southwards, whereupon the king and earl with their troops left the town.

5. News of the Northmen's landing reached Harold of England in London and he set off north, Stamford marching night and day, as soon as he could Bridge, Sept. 25. get the levies of the shires together. By the Sunday he reached Tadcaster and set his army in array, and next morning he passed through York, hearing that Harold of Norway and Tostig, with part of their men, were waiting for the hostages by Stamford Bridge beyond the city. There he came upon them unawares. It is said that Tostig wished to retreat, but Harold Hardrede would not give way, but sent to the ships for more men, and set his men in array. Harold Godwine's son now rode forward and offered his brother peace and a third of the kingdom. Said Tostig, "If that had been offered before, many a good man would be alive now that will never come home any more, and England would be in better plight than it is. But what will my brother offer the Northman's king for his cost and trouble?" Harold answered, "Seven feet of earth, or more, seeing he is taller than most men." "Go back and make ready for the battle," said the earl, "the Northmen shall never say that Tostig forsook Harold for his foes when he was in need. We will rather all of us die with honour here or win England with our swords."

When Harold Hardrede, who stood by, knew who it was that had spoken to Tostig, he said, "That English king was a little man, but he stood strong in his stirrups." Then he set up his banner *Landwaster*, and went through the ranks of his men, forming them into a phalanx or *shield-wall* to resist the English attack. As he looked at the enemy advancing all in mail, and saw his own men armourless, for they had not thought of an attack, and the day was hot, he sung—

" Their helmets shine : would I had mine !
Our rigging's lying : down at the ships."

The English fell on stoutly and broke the Northmen's shield-wall. But Harold Hardrede, seeing his men pressed,

took his sword with both hands and dashed forward, scattering his enemies like smoke before him. As he fought "red to the elbows," ringed round with foes, an arrow struck him in the throat-vein and he fell. The English cheered, but Tostig went to the banner in the king's place, and though his brother again offered him peace, refused, saying that he and his men had made up their minds to win the day and avenge Harold or die there with him. But he too fell, and when the help came from the ships it was too late to change the fortunes of the day; still this last attack was the hottest part of the day's fight, and it was late ere the English drove the few unwounded survivors to flight. Even then one Northman kept the bridge, over which his comrades were escaping, single-handed with his axe for a long while, and is said to have stricken down forty Englishmen. They offered him quarter, but he laughed at their offers; at last a man crept under the bridge in a boat, and thrusting a spear up through the planks into his body, under his mail-coat, killed him. Only the darkness saved the rest of the Northmen. Next day Harold made peace with the dead king's sons and the earls, and let them go away with 24 ships. The booty taken was very great, for Harold Hardrede had been in the Greek emperor's *Waring-guard* at Constantinople when he was a young man, and had gotten great riches there, and all his life after he had been warring in foreign lands and winning plunder, till he came home to rule with his nephew in Norway. This treasure he had taken to England to pay his men and buy over the English. Harold Godwine's son gave it all over to the care of Ealdred, the Archbishop of York, for the time, which made some of his soldiers discontented. Harold Hardrede is a famous character in northern history, where his wonderful adventures and gallant end were long remembered. He was said to be the finest man of his age, taller and handsomer than either of his rivals William or Harold, besides being a ready speaker, a good general, and a crafty statesman. He was very fond of poetry, and no mean poet himself. His enemies called him grasping and cold-hearted.

6. On Michaelmas Eve William's fleet of 9000 ships reached England, landing on the Sussex coast, **Hastings,** where, at Hastings, a wooden castle they brought **Oct. 14, 1066.** with them was set up. News came to Harold at York, and he set out at once for London with his guard, sadly lessened in number by the late battle, bidding Eadwine and Morkere follow him with their men; but they hung back, thinking to

make terms with William if Harold were slain. The king only stayed six days in London, and then with the levies of Kent and Essex and some East English led by his two brothers, the men of London and his own guard, he marched south to meet William, against the advice of Gurth and Leofwine, who wished him to stay at London till the levies from the rest of England could join him, letting them go forward with the men he had and lay waste the country to prevent William moving inland. But he would not have the land wasted, nor let them lead the army in his stead, though they feared the saints' vengeance on him because of his broken oath. He chose his ground skilfully along the steep brow of a long hill at Senlake near Hastings, stockading the front of his line with piles chained together, to keep off the horsemen, in which the strength of the duke's army lay. Several messages passed between the two camps; William is said to have offered Harold to settle their quarrel by a single combat or an appeal to the Pope, but Harold said that God should judge between them. After a night passed by the English in watching and feasting round their fires, and by the Normans in resting and praying and confessing their sins to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and his priests, who went through their camp, both captains drew out their men early on S. Calixtus' Day (14th October). Harold set up his two banners, the Golden Dragon of Wessex and the Fighting Man (his own standard), by the hoar apple-tree on the hill-top, and round it put his best men, the guard, the men of London, and the levy of Kent. They were all on foot, as was always the English way to fight, armed with large Danish axes, broadswords, and javelins, and clothed in helmets and coats-of-mail. The country-folk, ill armed with darts, clubs, and slings, were on either side. Harold ordered his men to keep the palisade, and on no account to leave their ground.

About eight o'clock the Norman army reached Senlake, and the duke made ready to attack the English. He put his footmen, mostly archers, in loose order in front of his army, and the horsemen behind them in three bodies; he and his brothers, Earl Robert and Bishop Odo, leading the Norman knights in the centre, where Thurstain the White bore the holy banner the Pope had sent the duke with his blessing, while the French and Breton knights formed the wings to right and left, under Roger of Montgomery and Earl Alan of Brittany. All these horsemen, mailed and helmeted, bore large kite-shaped shields, long lances used overhand, and broadswords.

A Norman minstrel named Taillefer (Hew-iron) began the battle; he rode up to the English line singing the Song of Roland, Charles the Great's paladin, and tossing his sword and lance high in the air and catching them as they fell; he wounded two Englishmen before he was killed. The Norman knights, when they found the archers could make no impression, charged up the hill, calling, "God help us! God help us!" and tried to break the line. But the English kept the pale, cheering and shouting, "Out! out! Holy Cross! God Almighty!" cutting down horse and man with their two-handed axes and tumbling them backward down the slope. After two attacks the Normans faltered, and there was a cry that the duke was slain, but he threw back his helmet to show his face, and rallied his men for a third onslaught. The pale was now broken on the right, and in the centre William fought his way by main strength to the standards, where Gurth killed his horse with a spear-cast and fell by the duke's sword. Leofwine also fell, but the guard and main body were still able to hold their own. Then, as a last hope, William gave the signal for a feigned flight, and the English on the right broke their ranks, against Harold's orders, and, cheering loudly, rushed after the horsemen down the hill. On the flats the Normans turned and cut them to pieces. Harold's right wing being destroyed, the Normans could now get on the hill-top and fight him on level ground. But they could not break his guard till the duke, seeing that the English had slung their shields round their necks that they might use their axes more freely, brought up his archers and ordered them to shoot high so that the arrows might fall on the English from above. One struck Harold in the right eye, and he fell at the foot of his standard. Eustace of Boulogne with a few knights, who had sworn to take the standards, now rushed forward, beat down the Fighting Man and the Golden Dragon, and slew the dying Harold, one of them being brutal enough to mangle his body. The guards now gave way slowly, followed by the victorious Normans, till they came to a piece of swampy ground by a steep part of the hill, where the knights' horses being useless, the Englishmen turned to bay and killed a great number of their pursuers. But their leaders were gone, and no effort could now avail to retrieve the lost battle. William checked the pursuit, and pitching his tent where Harold's standard had stood, halted his army for the night. Next day Eadgyth Swan-neck, a lady whom the dead king had loved, coming with other Englishwomen to search for their dead, found Harold's

disfigured corpse under a heap of dead. William had it buried under a stone heap on the cliff at Hastings, saying that it was fit sepulchre for him who had guarded his land so well while he lived. But afterwards the canons of Waltham Holy Cross, the minster Harold had endowed, took it home with them and buried it, but no man now knows where the last old English king lies.

7. The state of England on the eve of the Norman Conquest is known to us from *Domesday Book* (see p. 68), which shows us a little nation of two million souls, three-fourths of whom are living by the land they till, the rest being townfolk, gentry, and churchmen. The eastern and southern shires, especially Kent, are the best tilled, richest, and most thickly peopled. There the *downs* and *wolds* gave fine pasturage for sheep, the *hursts*, *shaws*, and *copses* on the hill shoulders affording fattening grounds for swine, and the hollows at the downs' foot, the river flats, and low gravel hills were the best and easiest land to plough and crop. Far the largest part of the country is *forest*, that is, uncleared and undrained moor, wood, or fen. If we take one of the 9250 villages or *manors* which are scattered over the country, it will be found that three-fifths of the land of each is *waste* untilled common land, one-fifth pasture, and one-fifth (half fallow each year under their rude system of farming) under plough, so that there was ample room for population to increase.

State of England at the Conquest. The land.

8. Ever since Ælfred's days the towns had been getting richer and more important as trading centres, fishing stations, and bulwarks against the Danes. And by the settlement of these energetic sailors they had grown still further. An English *borough* was nothing more than a walled group of villages or parishes, each with its village-moot and officers, while the borough court was a *hundred-moot*. A city or *port* was like a walled shire, its *husting* presided over by the *port-reeve*, being a folk-moot; while its *wards*, each with its own *alderman* and *ward-moot*, were hundreds, each of course including two or three parishes. The burghers (householders) held all power, and made their own bylaws in their hustings and ward-moots, but the towns were practically managed by the *Merchant Gild*, or Association of Traders, to which nearly every burgher belonged, for the purpose of protecting, furthering, and regulating the commerce and manufactures of the place. The principal towns (London, Bristol, Norwich, Lincoln, Oxford, York, Exeter, and Winchester) were the exchanges,

The towns.

inlets and outlets of the country's trade, whence imports from abroad (wine, silk, oil, ivory, glass, sulphur, dyes, gold and silver) were distributed about the country, while slaves, metals, and wool were taken to foreign lands in return. A great deal of trade was done at the great annual fairs, especially *Winchester*, *Stourbridge*, and *Abingdon*. It should be noticed that from the days of Æthelred London was bidding fair to become the capital of England, being more central, easier of access, and richer than Winchester.

9. The old village system of *communal ownership*, such as still holds in Russia, having long broken down in England, and a man's family having slight hold or right over him, it was necessary to devise some other way of making people responsible for crimes committed among them. This was done by the system of *frank-* or *peace-pledge*, or *frith-borrow*, by which the country freeholders were grouped into sets of ten [*tithings*] under a *tenth-head*, each man in the tithing being obliged to act as perpetual bailman for the other nine, producing the offender to the hundred-elder if a crime was committed, or paying the fine or were-gild for him. Landless men were obliged to find a lord whose *frith-borrow* or peace-pledge they would be in.

Besides the *merchant gilds* in the towns, there was in nearly every big village a *gild* like our Benefit Societies or Farmers' Associations, formed for mutual help and protection, and for feeding the poor and providing burial and masses for dead members. Once a year, on the day of the patron saint of the gild, there was a *gild-feast*, when all the members, men and women, went to church in the morning in procession, passed the day in merry-making, and had a great dinner together, at which the fines, payable in ale, for the year were drunk.

10. Not only were changes made in the speech of North England by the new words brought in by the Danes, but in other ways the English tongue altered greatly in the eleventh century, getting rid of many old *forms* and *inflexions*, breaking down the old endings *a*, *u*, *i*, and *an*, *un*, *on* into *e* and *en* (as in modern German), and thereby being forced to use a more modern syntax. Of course the Norman invasion helped this very much, as the gentry speaking French and the learned Latin, left English to be a mere people's speech, neither written nor used by cultivated men. The two following specimens, of the middle and end of the century, will show some of these changes :—

Language.

a. Thæt wolde thyncan wundorlic ælcum men the on
 That would think [seem] wondrous to-any man that in
 Englande wæs gif ænig man ær tham sæde that hit swa
 England was if any man ere to-them said that it so
 gewurthan weolde for tham the he wæs ær to tham swythe
 happen would because he was ere to such a pitch
 upahafen swylce he weolde thæs cynges and ealles
 raised as that he wielded the king and all
 Englandes and his sunan wæron eorlas and thæs cynges
 England and his sons were earls and the king's
 dyrlingas and his dohtor thæm cynge beweddod and
 darlings and his daughter to-the king wedded and
 beæwnod. (Of Godwine's Outlawry, *Old English Chronicle*.)
bound-by-law.

b. Reowlic thing he dyde and reowlicor him
 Rueful thing he did and more-ruefully to-him
 gelamp. Hu reowlicor? him geyfelade and that him
it-happened. How more-rueful? to-him it-went-ill and that to-him
 stranglice églade. Hwæt mæg ic teollan? Se scearpa death
 strongly ailed. What may I tell? The sharp death
 the ne for let ne rice menn ne heane. Seo hine genam.
 that does-not-leave nor rich men nor high. It him took.
 (Of King William's Death, *Old English Chronicle*.)

11. The first six centuries of old English history is, as we have seen, full of cruel wars, with which our story has been mainly taken up, but it must be remembered that in the early rough times of a nation's life, unless it can fight well it has but a poor chance of living at all in the struggle going on around it. And we must also recollect that behind the fighting kings and earls of whom we hear, there were always the wise and gentle churchman and the sturdy hard-working yeoman, who go on with their work in silence, but whose labour is seen in the advances their country had made. A little knot of tribes colonizing a new land at the point of the sword has become a great nation, under the rule of a single king. Into this nation a second body of immigrants (the Danes) has been quietly absorbed. The whole island obeys the behests of the English king as Emperor of Britain; while by their belonging to the church system of Western Europe the English of this "Empire outside the world" have entered upon their career as a family of the European State-group, and taken a place in the world's history. Six centuries hardly seem too long for such progress as this.

BOOK II.

THE NORMAN KINGS.

CHAPTER I.

William the Conqueror, 1066-1087.






1. While William was still lying in the south resting his army and awaiting fresh troops, Eadwine and Morkere came to London, and the Wise Men met and chose the child Eadgar Etheling, Edward's nephew, for king. Whereupon the two earls, whether from disgust or fear, went north again, leaving the city and the south of England to its fate. The duke had now got Dover, Canterbury, and Winchester, and was ready to move; so marching up the Thames past London, ravaging the land as he went, he crossed it at Wallingford and turned east so as to cut off all help from the north. Seeing no hope left Eadgar, the archbishop and the best men of London went to him at Berkhamstead and "bowed to him for need." And at Westminster on Midwinter Day, in the midst of an uproar (caused by the Norman soldiers taking the cheers of the English for the beginning of an attack on them and the king), Ealdred of York hallowed him king, making him swear before he set the crown on his head that he would keep his people as well as ever the best king before him had if they would be true to him. The landholders then came to him, paid dues, and bought back their land. But the lands of those that had fallen in fight against him or fled from England were given to Normans and Frenchmen, many of whom also were married to English heiresses and widows. But no new laws were made, the old courts were kept up, and in all things Edward's ways were followed.

ORKNEY ISLES

BRITAIN after the settlement of THE DANES & NORTHMEN

Statute Miles.

0 10 20 40 60 80 100

-  Northmen's Settlements
-  Scots & Northmen
-  Picts
-  Welsh
-  Irish



2. Next year William took the Etheling and most of the English nobles with him, and went to visit his own land, leaving England in charge of Odo, his brother, and William Fitz-Osbern, his friend. They began to oppress the English and to build castles all over the land, and as only the south-east of England was really in the king's own power, all those who had not yet felt his heavy hand rose against him. Dover Castle was attacked, Northumberland took up arms, and in the west Eadric the Wild (nephew of Eadric the Grasper) called in the Welsh. Messengers were also sent for help to Norway, Denmark, and Germany, and when the king came back the greater part of the country had to be conquered bit by bit : a task which, in spite of the folly and quarrels of the English leaders, took him four years to finish.

Wessex was completely overpowered by the fall of Exeter, which Harold's sons and their grandmother Gytha had long held against William. Harold's sons indeed escaped to Ireland, and twice afterwards attempted to land in the west, but they were easily driven off.

With the north the king had far more trouble. Eadgar Etheling had fled with his sister Margaret and many English nobles to Scotland, where King Malcolm Bighead received them kindly, and made Eadgar give him his sister to wife. The Northumbrians, hoping for help from Scotland, chose Eadgar for king and rose in force. William himself was forced to go north against them, drive the Etheling away, and, building castles in York and Lincoln, garrison them with Norman soldiers to hold the province. But better help than Eadgar's was at hand. Swegen of Denmark sent his brother Asbeorn and his sons with 240 ships, who, coming into the Humber, were eagerly welcomed and joined by Waltheof, son of Siward the Stout, and the other English earls. The French garrison at York plundered the city and minster, and shut themselves up in the castle, but the Danes and English took it with great slaughter and drove the captive Normans as slaves to the ships. It was in these fights that Waltheof did the deeds that made him famous all over England. Once he kept a gate single-handed against a whole troop of Frenchmen, smiting down every one that came near him with his great axe. But when William came up for the third time, the earls fled, the Danes took to their ships, and the people were left to their fate. William determined to stop these northern risings for ever, and laid waste the whole land between the Humber and Tees, burning

The English
resistance,
1067-1070.

every cottage and slaying every living thing, so that for nine years not a yard of land was tilled in this awful desert. Having thus set a barrier which the Scots could not easily cross, he held his Christmas at York in state. The Danish fleet lay all the winter off the Humber, but were got rid of in the spring by being allowed to plunder the *Golden Minster*, Peterborough, after which they agreed to leave the country.

The Welsh border being still in arms, directly after Yule, in the depth of winter and the worst of weather, the king led his army across the wild hills to Chester, took it and stamped out the revolt, setting an earl as Constable to hold the city and keep the Welsh quiet.

The last struggle came about in the east, where Eadwine and Morkere turned traitors again, took to the woods, gathered hundreds of Englishmen to them, and set up a *Camp of Refuge* at Ely in the midst of the Fens. Eadwine was murdered by his own men, but Morkere and Ethelwine (one of the bishops whom William had dethroned) and the famous Hereward held the island valiantly against William and all his army, till the king built a causeway across the Fens, so that his men could assault the camp in force. Then Morkere and the bishop surrendered, the former being pardoned for the sake of his brother Eadwine, for whose fate William (who only wept twice in his life) shed tears, though the handsome open-handed young earl had three times broken his oath to him. Hereward cut his way through the Normans and got away, and lived to be reconciled to the king, who admired his skill, and gave him part of his army to command in France in 1073. Many stories are told of Hereward's adventures. He met his death at the hands of a band of Bretons led by Ralph of Tewkesbury, who, being jealous of his favour with William and the gifts he had given him, came upon the English captain and his faithful follower Winter unawares one day as they lay asleep in an orchard and slew them, not without a struggle, in which seventeen of the cowardly assailants were killed. William was angry at this evil deed, and swore that if there had but been three other Englishmen as good as Hereward, the Normans would have been driven out of England.

In 1068 Malcolm Bighead, overawed by William's approach at the head of a great army, *did homage* to him at Abernethy on Tay, and persuaded the Etheling to make friends with him also. So that henceforth William's hold on the English was secure.

3. As early as 1070 William had set about the reform of the English Church, Ealdred was dead, Stigand and others were deposed, and seven vacant sees and many abbotships were filled at the *Council of London* by foreigners, mostly learned and pious men with the good of the Church at heart, but there were some among them whose zeal led them into cruelty towards their English flocks. Thus at Glastonbury Thurstan and his monks fell out over the new chants the abbot wished them to learn; they prayed him to treat them gently and promised obedience. But he threatened them all the more, and one day sent for soldiers to come full-weaponed into the chapter-house upon the poor monks, who fled frightened into the minster, locking the doors behind them. "But a rueful thing fell out that day! The Frenchmen broke into the choir and shot towards the altar where the monks were, and some of the knights went up into the gallery, and kept shooting downwards with arrows thence towards the sacrament, so that many arrows struck upon the rood that stood above the altar. And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under it, and called earnestly upon God, praying for mercy from Him, since they could get no mercy from men. What can we say? But that they kept on shooting, and the others broke the doors down and went in and slew some of the monks outright, and wounded many there in the chancel; so that the blood ran from the altar upon the steps, and from the steps on to the floor." Such men as Thurstan, who was removed by the king, did great harm, but the new archbishop, Lanfranc, was one of the best men that ever filled the See of Canterbury. His career had been a strange one. Born at Pavia and bred to the law, having heard that good clerks could get on in Normandy, he came to Avranches and opened a school, to which his scholarship and eloquence soon assured great success. Suddenly he resolved to turn monk, and going to Bec, a little retreat set up by Herlwin, a pious Norman knight, took the cowl. Here Lanfranc learned much from the old soldier's simple piety, and showed the greatest humility and earnestness in his new calling. Once as he was reading at dinner according to rule to his fellow-monks, the ignorant prior wished him to say *docēre* instead of *docere* as he rightly read it, and he complied without a word, telling his better-taught fellows afterwards that it was worse to disobey than make a false quantity. And to this sweet temper he owed his advancement. Arguing against William's marriage with his cousin

Reforms in the
English Church.
Lanfranc, 1070.

Matilda, he was banished from Normandy. As he rode slowly away on a sorry hackney the monks had lent him he met the duke and all his train, and seeing that William knew him, told him that if he had had a better steed he should have been out of his way hours ago. The duke laughed at his quiet humour, and told him to turn back with him. And when he saw the wisdom and learning of the monk, he took him into his service and treated him as a dear friend, paying great respect to his advice.

Lanfranc did not like the way some of the English clergy mixed in government and lawsuits and worldly affairs, nor the gluttony and laziness of others, so he advised William to let the Church have courts of its own, where all matters of church law and discipline might be dealt with by the clergy, instead of by all the people at the moots. He also forbade the clergy to attend or plead at any Lay Court. He moved the bishops' stools from places which had sunk into mere hamlets to towns where their influence might be of greater use. In many small matters too he brought the English Church into conformity with the churches abroad. But neither he nor William wished to put the Church wholly under the Pope, nor let it meddle with matters of State; and the king forbade any Pope to be acknowledged as such, or his *bulls* (decrees) read, or any orders of the Church Assemblies to be enforced, or any layman to be punished by the Church without his leave, nor would he pay homage to the Pope. Lanfranc made collections of books for his library at Canterbury, and corrected many manuscripts with his own hand; he also wrote several pious and learned treatises. Like William, he was fond of building, and by the help of his friend Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, the architect of the White Tower and Rochester Cathedral, he rebuilt part of Canterbury Minster. One of Lanfranc's sayings was that it was better for a man to spend his money on the poor than in, what was then thought most meritorious, going a pilgrimage.

4. For the rest of his reign William's troubles arose from the faithlessness of his Norman nobles, the turbulence of his sons, and the hatred of his enemies in France. William Fitz-Osbern, his faithful friend, had fallen fighting for his wife's heritage in Flanders. His son Roger, an ambitious man, now set a plot on foot against the king on the marriage of his sister Emma to Ralf, Earl of Norfolk, at the wedding feast at *Exning*, to which he had bidden Earl Waltheof and many great men.

"There was that brideale, that was many men's bale!"

Here the two kinsmen spoke against William ; calling him base-born and no rightful ruler, cruel, unjust, and treacherous to his nobles ; saying that he had rewarded the knights who won him his crown with the worst lands and kept the best himself ; and proposing to oust him by the help of the English (who, they said, would be glad to get revenge, though they seemed to think of little but eating and drinking), setting one of themselves in his place, while the other two should be dukes in the old way, as when Edward ruled with his earls. Waltheof would not join them, though he promised secrecy ; Ralf and Roger, however, gathered troops, hired Bretons from abroad, sent for help from Denmark, and raised their standards : but the English took arms against them, and the Norman garrisons were true to the king. Ralf fled over sea, leaving his bride to hold Norwich, which she did bravely, only surrendering on condition of the garrison being allowed to leave England unharmed ; Roger was taken ; Waltheof gave himself up, and the Bretons were made prisoners. The Danish fleet, 240 strong, came when all was over, and, not daring to meet William, made a hasty raid on York, where they burned the minster (a deed which brought ill-luck on all that took part in it, and death to Earl Hakon's son, their leader), and sailed off to Flanders. The Bretons were judged at Westminster, at the Christmas Great Moot.

“ Some were blinded : and some banished.
So were William's : traitors treated ! ”

The innocent Waltheof was put to death next year, either through the lies of his wicked wife (Judith, the king's niece) or because William was afraid of his popularity and influence in England, Scotland, and Denmark. Early on the morning of May 31 the young earl was led to a little hill near Winchester to die. He took off his rich robes and gave them to the poor, knelt down at the block and prayed earnestly, till the headsman, fearing a rescue, cut off his head while the words “ deliver us from evil ! ” were yet in his mouth. His body was buried at his beloved Abbey of Crowland, where miracles were wrought at his tomb, as the English believed, and it was said that none of William's plans ever prospered after the Martyr-Earl's death. A Norwegian poet who had known Waltheof says in his dirge on him—

“ Yea, he that, sailing northward, clove the cold sea, and blood-red
Dyed many a sword in battle—William—slew Waltheof foully.
Bravest of knights my lord was ; never died doughtier champion !
Ah ! 'twill be long ere slaughter ceases out of England ! ”

Judith soon fell into deserved disgrace, but Maud, Waltheof's daughter, was allowed to keep her father's earldom of Huntingdon, and at last wedded the King of Scots' son.

5. After a war with his *vassals*, the Bretons, who got help from the French king, ever jealous of the Normans, and defeated William for the first time at *Dol*, taking his camp and treasure, and obliging him to accept their terms of peace, a worse disaster followed. Robert Curthose, William's eldest son, a brave young man, but ill-advised, asked for the heritage, Normandy and Maine, which his father had promised him. "I do not take off my clothes before I go to bed," said the king, and refused him. Whereupon, getting the help of King Philip and those Norman barons who disliked William's just rule and longed for the licence the lazy good-nature of Robert would allow them, the headstrong young man took up arms. At *Gerberoi* (1079) he met his father in battle, and, not knowing who he was, wounded him in the hand. The king's horse was shot under him, and but for a brave Englishman, Tostig, who fell struck through by an arblast bolt as he brought him another charger, he would most likely have been killed. When Robert heard his father's voice and knew him, he dismounted, threw himself at his feet, and begged his forgiveness. A peace was patched up, and Robert came to England, where he built Newcastle for his father as a Border fortress against the Scots in 1080.

William's
troubles at
home and
abroad.

William's glorious progress through South Wales to S. David's, receiving the *homage* of the Welsh princes and making them free their English captives (many hundred souls), showed his power; but the end of his reign was gloomy. He lost his son Richard and his much-loved wife Matilda, a good, pious woman, whose foolish fondness for the misguided Robert was her only fault. He was obliged to imprison his brother Odo, who had ruled badly and greedily, and was now gathering an army to go to Rome to try and be made Pope, having spent vast sums in bribing the Roman people. Moreover, the Danes were again threatening England, Cnut, their king, had married a daughter of William Fitz-Osbern's foe, now Earl of Flanders, and in alliance with him and the King of Norway, had gathered a fleet to conquer England. William was obliged to summon soldiers from abroad, "so many that men wondered how the land might feed them all," quarter them on the English, and raise *Danegild* to pay them. He also let waste the whole east coast for miles inland, so that no foe could find meat

or shelter or landing. Cnut, however, was slain by his own men, so that his plans came to nought. But William, wishing to find out exactly the resources of his kingdom, so that it might be defended in the least burdensome way if ever there were danger again, "took great thought, and held deep speech with his Wise Men" at Gloster, 1085; and being advised to make a survey of the whole country, sent commissioners into every shire to find out how much land of every sort there was, how many landholders, cottars, and slaves, and what was the worth of the land and cattle in every manor. Inquest was held in every village and evidence taken on oath; "so narrowly did he make them seek out all this, that there was not a single hyde or yard of land (shameful it is to tell, though he thought it no shame to do), nor one ox, nor one cow, nor one swine left out, that was not set down in his rolls, and all these rolls were afterwards brought to him." From them was made the great *Domesday Book*, which tells us more of the history, state, and condition of England than can be known of any other country for hundreds of years afterwards, and gives us cause to bless William's wisdom rather than blame his greed.

With the results of this *great Inquest* before him, William summoned all the landholders of England, *mediate* and *immediate* (whether holding of other lords or directly of him), to meet him at *Sarum*, where he made them swear, according to the old English custom, to be faithful to him, for he did not wish the Norman ideas, that a man was only bound to be faithful to him whose tenant he was, disregarding the overlord's rights altogether, to grow up in England. It was also a sign that he would uphold the free English customs and moots, and not suffer the lords' power to override them. The distress caused by the heavy taxes, bad harvests and consequent famines, and several great fires (in one of which S. Paul's in London was burned), besides the heavy rule of the Norman landlords, all made Englishmen believe that their sins had brought God's heavy wrath upon them.

6. In 1087, raging against the French king for a coarse jest on his stoutness, William left England for William's death and character. the last time, and marching to Mantes, a frontier town, burned it, minsters and all. As he rode round the flaming city, his horse reared and threw him against the pommel of his saddle, giving him a hurt of which he died on Tuesday, September 9, 1087. On his deathbed he called his sons to him and told them the whole story of his life. "I have never hurt God's Church, but I am stained with

rivers of blood," he said, and prayed them all to pay heed to his mistakes and sins and rule uprightly. Then leaving Normandy and Maine to Robert, his first-born, prophesying ill-luck for him, he said, "Having made my way to the English throne by so many evil deeds, I dare not leave it to any one but God, by whose will I trust that my son William, who hath ever been good son to me, may be king after me and reign gloriously." To Henry he gave £5000, bidding him trust in the Lord, for that in the end he should have all his father ever held. Then he forgave all his enemies, set free all his prisoners of state, and commended his soul to the Lord Jesus with his last breath as the morning bell rang out from the steeple of Rouen Minster. Thence they bore him to his own abbey at Caen, where, but in little state, and not till the knight from whom he had seized the land for his foundation had been paid for the grave, he was laid.

One who knew him well says of this great king that he was mightier and wiser than any of his forerunners; a pious man that built many minsters and loved God's servants; so stern a man that he would not spare his own brother if he did wrong; so just that the good peace he made cannot be forgotten; and so mighty that he held Normandy and Brittany, won England and Maine, made Scotland and Wales bow to him, and would, had he lived two years longer, have won Ireland by his mere renown, without need of weapon. But he was also greedy of gold, proud and hard-hearted, as when he made the Great Deer-parks, "and ordered that whoso slew hart or hind, him men should blind, and forbade men to slay deer or bear, and made the hare go free, for he loved the big game as if he were their father," recking nought of the poor that he oppressed. In person William was tall and stout, skilled in horsemanship, and so strong that no man could bend his bow. His face was handsome, but stern-looking; he had an aquiline nose, quick grey eyes, a high brow, and dark hair, but became bald in middle age. A man of few words, but able to speak well; passionate, but never losing his head; crafty, but true to his pledged word; a far-sighted statesman, a skilful general, and a just judge, no king of England was better gifted for the hard evil days in which his rule was cast.

CHAPTER II.

William the Red, 1087-1100.

1. William began his reign well, loosing the prisoners (amongst whom were Earl Morkere and Wulfnoth, Godwine's youngest son, who had been the Conqueror's hostage and captive many years) and dealing out the great hoard at Winchester for the good of the dead king's soul; to every minster in England six or ten gold marks, to every church sixty pence, and to every shire £100 for the poor. Still the Norman barons, ill-content with a strong king, plotted in favour of Robert, who would leave all power in their hands. But Lanfranc stood by William, sent for the chief Englishmen, told them of the king's need, and promised them on his behalf "the best laws that ever were in the land," the strict punishment of all evil-doers, and the woods and hunting-rights which the Conqueror had taken away. Accordingly the faithful English levies met, drove off Robert when he tried to land, and put down the rebellion, Odo and many others being banished and their lands given to better men. But William soon forgot his promises, and when Lanfranc, "the father and friend of the monks and all good men," was dead, he began to vex his people with heavy taxes and make them labour at his buildings, the Tower Wall, London Bridge, and the Great Hall at Westminster. His new Justiciar was William's hard Ranulf, nicknamed the Torch, who had served rule. on the Domesday Commission, a rough, burly, coarse man, but eager to please the king, and clever enough to cover all his ill-doing with the cloak of law. It is owing to him that the English system of landholding became harder, stricter, and more burdensome than before the Conquest.

2. By Ranulf's counsel, also, the king refused to put fresh bishops and abbots in the place of those that died, keeping their lands meanwhile for his own profit, starving the Church and the poor. This went on till 1093, when he fell ill, and, his heart misgiving him at the point of death, vowed to make amends to his people and the Church. Anselm, Abbot of Bec, who happened to be staying in England founding a minster for the Earl of Chester, was sent for to his bedside and given the archbishopric of Canterbury; he refused, being afraid, as he said, that the plough of the Church, which had been drawn by two strong oxen (William and Lanfranc), would go hardly if a poor weak

sheep were yoked to a wild bull (himself and the king); but the bishops who stood by forced the staff into his hand, and carried him off to the Cathedral to be installed whether he willed or no, to the great joy of all that heard of it.

For Anselm was truly a great man. So good that he was held a saint in his very lifetime, so meek that even his enemies honoured him, so wise that he was the foremost thinker of his day and the forerunner of the greatest philosophers of ours. Born about 1033 near Aosta of a pious mother, he was even in his childhood always thinking and dreaming of holy things, and would have become a monk at fifteen but for his father's opposition. When he was full grown he turned, like Lanfranc, to Normandy and took the cowl at Bec, where he won all hearts, overcoming the illwill of one jealous brother in particular by his long-suffering till he made him his greatest friend. At last he was chosen abbot, but the good monks were sometimes in straits under his rule, for he would give everything to the poor, so that now and then they had to forego their own dinner as the larder was empty. However, they loved him so much that some of them wished to refuse him leave to take the archbishopric and call him back among them.

As he had foreseen, troubles came; he wished the king to acknowledge Urban as lawful Pope, but now that William was healed he fell back into his old ways and evil life, and though after much trouble he gave way on this point, he stood out on all the rest, and when Anselm in sheer despair resolved to go to Rome, refused him leave till 1097. Then the two met for the last time; Anselm forgave him, blessed him, and started to lay all his troubles before the Pope. Urban received him gladly, and paid him great honour, making him speak for him at a great council of bishops which was then being held, still he would not interfere with the king on his behalf. So with a heavy heart the archbishop left him and went to the north of France, whence he travelled south, staying abroad till the Red King's death.

3. As his father had hoped, William's reign was glorious. He forced Robert to make peace and agree that whichever of them died childless the other should be his heir. He drove Earl Thorfinn out of Cumberland and made it part of his own realm, setting Englishmen in Carlisle, which he fortified as a Border fortress against the Scots. He invaded Scotland and compelled Malcolm to become his man, and when this restless king broke the peace and made his fifth raid into England, he was at last assured

*William's wars,
Scotland, etc.*

of peace by his death. For the Earl of Northumberland and Morel his steward, an old friend of Malcolm's, decoyed him and his son into an ambush and killed them. When the good Queen Margaret heard "how her dearest lord and son had been thus betrayed, she was grieved to the death in her heart, and went with her priest to church, got her rights [was shriven], prayed to God, and then gave up the ghost." She was rightly counted a saint, for "she had loved God with her whole heart," and had brought the king, her husband, and his people out of many of the evil ways they walked in before, so that "he was well pleased with the new customs she held, and was wont to thank God that gave him such a wife." She made Scotland an *English kingdom* instead of a mere *Keltic principality*, by encouraging English and Norman settlers, using English ways and speech, and getting the king to live at Edinburgh in the Lothians among the English, rather than in the Highlands in the old Keltic fashion.

In 1095 the Earl of Northumberland and Morel robbed some Norwegian merchants, who complained to the king. He generously made good their losses himself, and summoned the earl to court. When he refused to come, and William found out that he was plotting to dethrone him in favour of Stephen of Aumale his cousin, he called out his English levies, took the earl, and learning from Morel the whole plot, put him in prison, where he lay thirty years, which was looked on as a fit reward for his treason to Malcolm.

4. Soon after this William was able to get rid of the
 annoys stirred up by those who hated him and
 loved his brother. For the duke was minded
 to go on a *Crusade* for the good of his father's soul, and
 having spent all his money in riotous living, suffering his
 very servants to rob him even of his clothes, he offered to
 pledge Normandy if the king would give him money for his
 equipment and journey. William gladly lent him £6666,
 and he started with most of his troublesome friends. As
 Robert was one of those men whose real worth only comes
 out when they are forced into action, he behaved so well
 in the Crusade, showing both valour and self-restraint, that
 when Jerusalem was taken on Good Friday 1099, and a
 Christian kingdom set up there, the crown was offered to
 him. But all danger being over, his natural laziness pre-
 vailed, and he refused it and went home, reaching Normandy
 soon after William's death.

This *first Crusade* came about through the cruelty and

bigotry of the Turks, who having taken the Holy City, where the Arabs had formerly suffered pilgrims to come unhurt, now began insulting and murdering the Christians and defiled the Holy Place. The Pope, hearing the bitter complaints of the pilgrims, preached at a great gathering in France, and telling the story of their wrongs, exhorted his hearers to "go and deliver the Sepulchre of the Lord." His sermon was received with shouts of "God wills it! We will go!" and thousands of all ranks, sewing a little *cross* of coloured cloth on their left arm in token of their promise, vowed to go and fight the misbelievers and free the Holy Land.

5. Robert's pledge made William the greatest king in Europe. He held the best parts of France, and having the rents from many forfeited estates and Wars in Wales. vacant church lands, was even richer than his father. Only in Wales there was still war, for though South Wales had been won already by Norman adventurers bit by bit, the North Welsh made a stout resistance, while their border was being slowly driven in, castle after castle rising upon the newly-won lands.

The Earl of Chester, Hugh the Fat, and Hugh the Proud of Shrewsbury, were the bitterest foes the Welsh had, and would have taken the whole coast of North Wales and even Anglesey, but for Magnus Bareleg, King of Norway, who sailed into the Menai Straits as the two border earls were engaged in subduing the island. They drew up their men to prevent the Northmen landing, when the king ran his ships close to the shore and there was a sharp fight. "Hugh the Proud was on horseback in the water in front of his men. He was covered all over in mail so that save his eyes there was not a bare spot on him. King Magnus and a Fin that stood by him on the quarterdeck of his ship both shot at the earl at the same time. One arrow hit the nosepiece of the helmet so hard that it bent on one side, but the other struck Hugh's eye and pierced through his head so that the point stood out at the nape of his neck, and men saw that that arrow was the king's." As a northern poet sang—

"The king shot hard and fast: the shaft rang on the mail,
Our lord his elm bow draws: the blood spurts on the helmet,
The bowstrings' war-hail [arrows] smote upon the rings; before it
The foe quailed. In sharp onslaught the Norse king slew the earl."

Magnus shouted mockingly as the earl fell forward into the sea, "Let him dive if he will!" and the leaderless Englishmen left the shore. So making truce with Hugh the Fat, the king won Anglesey, gave it to Owen, Eadmund Ironside's

stepson, to hold under him, and sailed away to meet his own death soon after in a raid on Ireland. Hugh the Proud's fate was put down to the vengeance of a Welsh saint in whose chapel he had kennelled his hounds some days before. One of Harold's sons was with Magnus on this cruise. It is likely that William himself would have won all Wales and perhaps Ireland too, now that his hands were free from other business, but for his sudden death in the height of his power.

6. On Thursday, August 2, 1100, he was at a hunting-lodge in the New Forest with his brother Henry, William's death and character. a French knight named Walter Tirel, whose skill in archery had made him a favourite, and a few other courtiers. Before they started for the day's sport two men came to him. One a *fletcher* [arrow-maker] with a gift of six finely-made arrows, which the king gladly took, thanking the giver, and handing two to Walter with the words, "I know thou wilt make the best use of them." The second bore a letter from Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, telling him of a dreadful dream one of his monks, William by name, had had concerning him. He thought he was in the abbey church, and that he saw a beautiful lady clothed in white glistening raiment come in and cast herself before the Rood, praying very earnestly to the Lord to have mercy upon her and overthrow her enemy. Whereon he seemed to see the image on the Rood bow its head towards her and answer, "Be patient, and within a little space thou shalt surely be avenged." Awaking in great terror he told his vision to Serlo, who seeing that the White Lady prefigured the Church, and fearful that the anger of the Lord was kindled against the king, made haste to write him the dream and the interpretation thereof, earnestly beseeching him to repent. But though William himself had been specially warned not to go hunting that day, he laughed at the letter. "Serlo is a good man and wishes me well, but he must be doting to send me the dreams of his snoring monks. Am I, an Englishman, to be stopped in what I am about by an old wife's whims?" and went forth. When the driving began the king and Tirel alighted, and were posted near one another in a ride with no one else by. A great grizzled hart came bounding towards them; William shot at it, and missing called out to Tirel, "Shoot, Walter! shoot in the devil's name!" The knight drew his bow, the arrow grazed the beast as it ran between them, and glancing, struck the king to the heart. Walter saw him fall and fled, and William lay there till sunset, when they

took up his body and sent it on a charcoal-burner's cart, like a dead boar, to Winchester, where he was laid "unhouseled, unanointed, unanneled," in the Old Minster, mourned only by his soldiers and boon companions.

One of his English subjects says of him, "He was mighty and terrible over his land, and his men, and towards all his neighbours. All that was loathsome in the eyes of God and righteous men was of common use in his time; wherefore he was loathed by wellnigh all his people, and hateful to God as his end showed." But it cannot be gainsaid that he was a faithful son, a kind master, and a brave knight, and though passionate and foul-tongued, able to boast with truth that he never did in anger what he would not have done in cold blood. He was utterly fearless, and too proud to be cruel. Once when he was embarking for Normandy, and the ship-master was afraid to weigh anchor in the gale that was blowing, he bid him, "Set sail! I never heard of a king being drowned." One of his prisoners telling him in a rage that he would defy his power if he were but free again, he loosed him and told him to go and do his worst. If he had but had his father's sense of duty, he would not have fallen short of his fame. In person he was stout, strong, and big-limbed, with light hair and a red face (whence his nickname, *Red Dragon*), and keen, restless, grey-spotted eyes, under a broad high brow standing out in four bosses as it were. His voice was loud, and he stammered, especially when he was angry.

CHAPTER III.

Henry the Scholar, 1100-1135.

1. As soon as he knew of his brother's death Henry rode off to Winchester and seized the royal treasury. Henry and
Normandy. Those of the Wise Men that were at hand chose him to be king, and the next Sunday "before the altar at Westminster he promised God and all the people to put down all unrighteousness that had been in his brother's time, and to hold the best laws that ever stood in any king's days before him." He then imprisoned Ranulf, and abolished the unjust devices by which he had wrested the law to get money, while he wrote to Anselm praying him "to come back, like a father, to his son Henry and the English people." He also

wrote all the promises he made at Westminster, together with a list of the evil customs he meant to put down, in a *charter*, which he sent into every shire. The court was set in order, and the king's Counting-House or *Exchequer* better officered and worked than before. But the English were chiefly pleased with the king's marriage to Eadgyth or Maud, the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland, and therefore a princess of the old West Saxon line. The Norman lords, who had despised Henry in his youth, but had been outwitted by his readiness in seizing the throne, now hated him and "his English ways," and when Robert came back they determined to make him king by force. Their leaders were Robert of Belesme, a powerful and crafty man, who used his great talents merely to further his monstrous cruelty and wickedness; Ivo of Grantmesnil (who boasted that he was the first man in England that ever dared to proclaim war on a neighbour), a cunning soldier, but a coward as he showed when he fled from the Crusade, letting himself down from the walls of Antioch in a basket, for which he got the name of *Rope-dancer*; and Ranulf Torch, who escaped from the Tower by making his jailers drunk and climbing the walls by a cord smuggled in to him in a wine-jar. The duke's claims were bought off for 3000 marks a year and a renewal of William's old agreement; Ivo was outlawed; but Robert of Belesme defied the king, till the English levies took his castles one by one, when he surrendered and was allowed to leave the realm. The English rejoiced at the fall of the most loathed of the barons and sung:—

"Make merry, King Henry, and thank the Almighty!
For your reign in good earnest begins from the day
When you beat down and overcame Robert of Belesme,
And banished him out of the bounds of your kingdom."

But the duke received the exiles, and the quarrel went on till the battle of *Tenchebray*, 1106, in which Henry took prisoners his brother, Eadgar the Etheling his fellow-crusader, and many of the refugees. Eadgar, being the queen's uncle, was set free, but Robert and the others were imprisoned for life. So the duchy and the kingdom were again under one man's rule, and the Englishmen in Henry's army said that they had revenged Senlac by conquering Normandy.

2. There was a quarrel raging at this time between the Pope and the Emperor about the appointment of bishops. The Pope wished to secure the election of good men as church-officers, and the Emperor was not willing to give up the right of filling these posts, since

Anselm and
Henry.

the bishops held broad lands and were most of them great barons. Anselm and Henry also disagreed on this matter, but in 1107 they made an arrangement by which the ring and staff, symbols of their power in the Church, were to be given to the bishops by the church who elected them, but they were to do *homage* for their land before their consecration and swear fealty afterwards. It had formerly been the custom for the whole congregation of Christians to elect their bishop, but of late the choice was considered to rest with the cathedral canons, or in the case of Canterbury the Christ Church monks, whose candidates were to be confirmed by the king. The old rules of Lanfranc and William were kept up in this reign, and Anselm worked hard to put down evil-living among laymen, and to reform the clergy, who were now forbidden to marry by a church council held at London (1129).

3. Louis, King of France, had taken up the cause of Duke Robert's son William, and made war with Wars with France. Henry on his behalf. But Henry securing powerful help by marrying two of his daughters to the Emperor and the Earl of Brittany, and getting the Earl of Anjou's daughter as wife for his own son William, forced the French to make peace at *Gisors*, 1113. This peace, however, was soon broken, and in 1119 was fought the battle of *Brémule* between the two kings. William Fitz-Robert and the Norman exiles who helped him broke the van of Henry's army and pressed on against his English troops, who withstood their onslaught. One knight, however, William Crispin, once a favourite of Henry's, fought his way to the king, who was fighting on foot, and struck him thrice on the helmet so hard that the iron rim was driven in, cutting his brow. Henry repaid him with a stroke that unhorsed him. At this moment the English charged and the French suddenly gave way and fled, hotly pursued by Henry's men. Louis' standard was taken, and he himself hardly escaped. Alone and on foot he wandered through the wild country near the battle-field till he found a peasant, who for a great reward promised to guide him to a French town. On the way they were met by a troop of French knights, and the countryman was paid off, grumbling that had he known whom he was guide to he would have asked still more. This overthrow and a letter from the Pope brought both kings to come to terms, and William Fitz-Robert was obliged to leave the French court "to escape his uncle's long arm."

4. Henry and his son now set off in great triumph for

England. As they were embarking at Honfleur, Thomas, son of Stephen, who had been captain of William the Conqueror's ship *Mora*, prayed the king to take his White Ship. He would not, but the Etheling William, willing to please Thomas, promised to sail with him, and went on board with his sister the Countess of Perche and a great company of gentlemen and ladies and the king's treasure. Before they started the sailors asked the prince for wine, and were given three barrels, which they drank at once, becoming so unruly that several passengers went on shore rather than sail with them, and so riotous that they drove off the priests who came down to bless the vessel with abuse and blasphemy. At last, late on the evening of November 25, they put off with a fair wind and calm sea, but no watch was kept, and the helmsman paid little heed to his course in the midst of the revelry. Suddenly the ship struck on the Reef of Catteville, about five miles from land, staving in her starboard bow. Amid great confusion they tried to get her off with poles and oars, but when they found how badly she was damaged, a boat was got out and the Etheling put in her with as many as she would hold. He had rowed clear of the wreck when, finding that his sister was left behind, he put back to save her. By this time the White Ship was filling fast, and when the boat lay alongside, she was swamped by the rush of panic-stricken people from the wreck. In a few minutes the wreck also sunk, and of the whole company of three hundred souls only three were left alive, clinging to the top-castle of the vessel, which was just above water. One was the captain, Thomas, who, when he found that the Etheling was drowned, threw himself into the sea in despair. The second, a young noble, could not endure the cold of the long November night; and when some fishermen passed next morning at dawn, they found only the third, Berold, a poor butcher of Rouen, who was saved by the warmth of his rough sheepskin jacket. No one dared take Henry the sad news, so a little child was sent into the hall where he was sitting. The boy went up to the king crying bitterly, and cast himself down at his feet, and when Henry raised him up and asked him why he wept he told him that the White Ship had sunk with all on board. The king fell fainting from his seat, and henceforward the joy was gone out of his life; it is said that he never smiled again, and though he would sometimes speak of Ralph the Red, and other of his good knights and friends that had perished in the wreck, he could never bear to hear his son's name. The king's treasure

was recovered by divers, but hardly any of the bodies were found.

The English writers call William cruel and wanton, and say that he swore to yoke the English like oxen to the plough when he was king, still he left many friends to mourn his loss, and he died doing his duty.

5. Next year Henry married again, for the Good Queen Maud had died in 1118. His second wife was Alice the Fair, daughter of the Earl of Löwen. But as they had no children the next male heir was William Fitz-Robert, whose Norman partisans now rallied to him, till by good-luck Henry captured nearly all of them in The succession. 1124, and William, despairing of present success, accepted the earldom of Flanders from the French king, and went off to take possession of it. His enemies there resisted him, and at the siege of *Alost*, in 1127, he received a wound of which he died, just as it seemed that the tide of his misfortunes was ebbing. A handsome, fair-haired, blue-eyed young man, brave, pious, and courteous, he was the most blameless of all the Conqueror's race. Just before his death he wrote to Henry to pray his forgiveness and to ask him to take into his favour those who had followed him faithfully. Accordingly Henry kindly received those who were willing to serve him, but most of them, overwhelmed by grief at their master's death, took the cross and went over sea. In 1125 the Emperor Henry died, and Matilda soon after came home to her father, who determined to make her his heir; and brought the barons and great men to consent to swear to take her as queen after his death. He then married her to the Earl of Anjou, a political match which was not very happy, for Matilda was hard-tempered and proud, and the earl not at all popular. But the old king was very fond of their children, and stayed in Normandy when he could to be near them.

6. All South Wales was now conquered, and early in his reign Henry was able to settle a colony of Flemings (who came to England when their own land was overwhelmed by the great storms of 1106) at Haverfordwest, where their descendants still live. But the north Welsh princes (the last Welsh *king* died in 1093) were such formidable foes that Henry himself was obliged to march against them more than once. Another expedition was preparing, when, in 1135, Henry fell ill at the Castle of Lions in Normandy, and eating freely of lampreys against his doctor's orders, his illness turned to fever, under which he sank and died. His

body was brought home to England and buried at Reading Abbey, which he had founded.

Henry had a comely face, dark curly hair, a high brow, and large eyes; he was not tall but strongly built. His voice, like his father's, wonderfully deep and strong. A good man of business, wise in planning, and cautious and patient in carrying out his designs, fond of learning (whence his nickname *Beauclerc*) and with a taste for art, but selfish, hard-hearted, and grasping; Henry's greatest title to our praise lies in the stern strength of his rule. An Englishman of his day was able to say of him: "Good man he was, and great awe there was of him. No man durst misdo against another in his time. He made peace for man and beast. Who so bare burden of gold or silver, no man durst say ought to him but good;" while another historian prays that "God may give him the peace he loved."

CHAPTER IV.

Stephen of Blois, 1135-1154.

1. As soon as Henry was dead, his nephew Stephen hastened to London to try and get the crown, for Matilda was a woman, and there had probably never been a queen ruling in England in her own right; moreover, her husband was foreign-born, and was greatly disliked. The nobles, therefore, "badly mindful of their oaths," were willing, rather than obey her, to choose her cousin; the citizens welcomed him; and the churchmen, among whom Stephen's brother Henry Bishop of Winchester had great influence, were also in his favour.

On Midwinter Day he was crowned, vowing that he would never oppress the Church as William the Red had, nor take his barons' woods and hunting like Henry, nor lay on Danegild any more. He also sent round these promises in a *charter*, but none of them were kept in the end. Stephen began by scattering Henry's treasure in trying to bind the great men to him by gifts, and in hiring foreign soldiers, who flocked over sea from Flanders at the report of his riches. Although the Pope confirmed the election of Stephen, the turbulent barons that hated the peace of King Henry rose in arms before the new king was firm in his throne, but as usual the Church and the English stood by the crown and put them down.

2. The invasion of England in 1138 by King David of Scotland was a more serious danger. With two hundred knights, a host of footmen, and many wild Galwegians, he pillaged the land, killing all the men, carrying off the women and children as slaves, and burning the houses. Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, called out the levies of the northern shires, and they met the Scots at Allerton Moor. In their midst was a cart with a tall mast fixed on it bearing the king's standard and the banners of the saints of the north, S. John of Beverley, S. Wilfred of Ripon, and S. Peter, and the sacrament in a casket. Round this were arrayed the mail-clad English knights on foot after the old fashion with sword and lance, and the yeomen with bows and axes. The Scottish king wished his mounted knights to charge them, but the Galloway-men clamoured for the honour of beginning the fight, their earl boasting that though he wore no mail he would fight as far forward as any steel-clad knight of them all. Stripped to the waist, armed only with sword and buckler, the Galloway-men rushed upon the English shouting their war-cry, Alban ! Alban ! [Scotland !] but a deadly shower of arrows from the yeomen broke their ranks before they reached the firm line of knights, who, advancing on their unsteady enemies, swept them before them "like a spider's web." David's son made a gallant charge with his knights, but the main body of the Scots were too disordered to rally, and soon took to flight. The pursuit was hot, for the English had fearful wrongs to revenge ; ten thousand Galwegians were killed, and only nineteen of all the Scots knights escaped death or captivity. David was glad to make peace. This battle of the *Standard*, in which the English yeomen first used the long-bow (a weapon the South Welsh taught them to ply), showed that spearmen and archers on foot could withstand and defeat the hitherto unconquered mailed horsemen.

3. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, Henry's faithful minister, had helped to get Stephen the crown, and hitherto the king had delighted to honour him, saying that Roger should tire of asking favours ere he tired of granting them. In an evil hour he began to mistrust the bishop, and demanded the surrender of the castles he and his nephews the bishops of Ely and Lincoln were building. They refused, whereupon the king put Roger in irons and threatened to hang his son unless the fortresses were at once given up. Roger's men, however, held out till their master, fearing for his son's life, vowed neither to eat

Battle of the
Standard, 1138.

Quarrel with
Church. Civil
war, 1139.

nor drink till they opened their gates to the king. He was then released, but he never got over the sudden fall from his high estate, and soon after died of a broken heart. Henry of Winchester was furious that a bishop should have been so badly used, and calling a council of clergy at Windsor, he laid the case before them, showing his appointment as *legate* or lieutenant for the Pope in England, and begging them to pay no heed to his own kinship with the king, but only to do justice. The king thereupon forbade them to proceed further, and they broke up in fear of him. But within a month the Empress Maud and her half-brother the Earl of Gloster landed in England, and sure of the support of the clergy, who had angrily turned from the king they had chosen, and of all who disliked Stephen or hoped for "the unholy gains of civil strife," began the war; while Stephen's mercenaries were nothing loath to fight in such a rich country.

The Monk of Peterborough, who wrote the last piece of the *Old English Chronicle*, says of the English lords: "They forswore themselves and broke their troth, for every nobleman made him a castle and held it against the king, and filled the land full of castles. They put the wretched country-folk to sore toil with their castle-building, and when the castles were made they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took all those that they deemed had any goods, both by night and by day, men and women alike, and put them in prison to get their gold and silver, and tortured them with tortures unspeakable, for never were martyrs so tortured as they were." "Many thousand they slew with hunger. I cannot nor may not tell all the horrors and all the tortures that they laid on wretched men in this land. And this lasted nineteen winters while Stephen was king, and ever it was worse and worse. They laid taxes on the villages continually, calling it *tenserie*, and when the wretched folk had no more to give them, they robbed and burned all the villages, so that thou mightest easily fare a whole day's journey and shouldest never find a man living in a village nor land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, for there was none in the land. Wretched men starved for hunger, and some went begging alms that were once rich men, and some fled out of the land."

And of the king's hired soldiers he says: "There was never yet more wretchedness in the land, nor did ever heathen men worse than they did, for they neither forbore church nor churchyard, but took all the goods that were therein, and then burned the church and all together. Nor did they for-

bear bishop's land, or abbot's, or priest's, but robbed monks and clerks and every other man they could. If two men or three came riding to a village, all the village-folk fled before them, deeming them to be robbers. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, but they cared nought therefor, for they were all forcursed and forsworn, and forlorn. Wheresoever men tilled, the earth bore no corn, for the land was all fordone with such deeds, and they [the wicked] said openly that Christ and His saints slept. Such, and more than we can say, we suffered nineteen winters for our sins!"

4. Only the main story of the war need be told. The great barons of the west and north fought for the empress, while Stephen's greatest strength lay in London and the other big towns of the east and south, and among the yeomen of Kent and Norfolk, the richest and most civilized parts of England. By the help, however, of Robert of Gloster, her half-brother, whose heart and head were worthy of a better cause, and of Randolf, Earl of Chester, a bold and crafty man, Robert's son-in-law, Matilda's party gained ground. In 1141 Stephen laid siege to Lincoln Castle, but Randolf, who held it, contrived to get out secretly and bring up Robert with a large army to raise the siege. The king resolved to fight them, though they far outnumbered his forces. His hired soldiers were soon put to flight by the two earls, but Stephen himself would neither fly nor yield. He stood on foot, hemmed round by foes, only three faithful guardsmen staying by him, till his sword-blade snapped, when a Lincoln man handed him a Danish axe, with which he fought, beating off Randolf of Chester, who attacked him, and striking down every man that came near him, until the axe-helve broke in his hand. Still no one dared lay hands on him till he was felled to the ground by a great stone, when William de Kaims sprang forward and seized him by the helmet, crying, "Here! here! I have got the king," whereupon he yielded himself prisoner. He was then put in ward at Bristol, and a great council being called at Winchester, Henry of Blois proposed to choose Matilda as queen, and to this, in spite of the protest of Stephen's queen, Maud of Boulogne, and the Londoners, who, as "almost barons of the realm," were of course present, the meeting agreed. The clergy then excommunicated all of Stephen's party who should not lay down their arms at once, and the empress went to London to be crowned. But her haughty behaviour disgusted her best friends; she would listen to no man's advice, despis-

Battle of Lincoln, and routs of London and Winchester.

ing even the counsels of her uncle David, who had again marched into England to help her; she refused to let Stephen's kinsmen have their rights, took back the grants he had made to the Church, and fining the Londoners heavily, denied them the *Law of King Edward*, which her father had promised them for ever. The end of all this was that one day as she was sitting down to dinner the city bells rang the alarm, and the Londoners swarmed out sword in hand like angry wasps from their comb, resolved to take her prisoner and slay her followers. She had only time to fly on a swift steed, leaving all her jewels, dress, and plate behind her, to Winchester. The Londoners now sent for Stephen's queen, swore to be true to her, and sent a thousand mail-clad men under the city banner, the standard of S. Paul, with her to the siege of Winchester. For Henry of Blois, moved by the prayers of his brother's wife, the folly of Matilda, and the cruel treatment she gave his brother, now forsook the party he had so warmly taken up, and joined Stephen's queen also. The empress beleaguered his castle with a great host, in which were the King of Scots, eight great earls, and many barons. Stephen's queen, however, after several skirmishes, obliged the empress to retreat, and attacking her army as it left the town, threw it into a panic, and turned the retreat to a rout. The country-folk rose upon the flying barons, while the Londoners sacked Winchester and gained great spoil. The King of Scots and Earl Robert were taken. The empress fled on horseback to Devizes, whence, fearing the people, her followers having covered her with grave-clothes bore her on a bier to Gloucester. Robert was now exchanged for Stephen, and the empress was hard pressed by the king, and in 1142 blockaded in Oxford Castle. After three months' close siege, food began to fail, and it was clear the place must fall; Matilda therefore, one dark night, had herself let down from the great tower by ropes with four knights, all dressed in white to escape being seen, for the snow was thick on the ground. They passed the sentinels unchallenged, and crossing the frozen Thames made their way on foot down the river to Abingdon, where horses were waiting for them, and so reached their friends safely.

5. Earl Robert's death and the empress's departure from England in 1148 put an end to the hopes of her party, but there was still no peace, every baron fighting for his own hand, and the king too weak to put them down. In 1153, Henry, Duke of Normandy, landed in England. Well schooled, able, and rich, for he was the pupil of

Peace of Wal-
lingford.

his uncles Robert and David, had learned war in defending his duchy against Stephen's son, and was become, by his late marriage with Eleanor, Duchess of Aquitaine (whom the King of France had put away), one of the greatest princes in Europe, he might hope to win back all his mother had lost and more. But he was too wise to risk a pitched battle, and when Eustace died in 1153 (the brave queen was already dead), he was willing to listen to the wishes of good men, who, yearning to put an end to the long war, and alarmed by the attack of Eystein, King of Norway (who ravaged the coast of Yorkshire, burned Whitby and Langton, and boasted that he had revenged Harold Hardrede), besought him to make terms with Stephen. Peace was agreed between them at *Wallingford*. The king was to rule while he lived, but Henry was to be his heir; the courts, laws, and money of the old days were to be restored, and the land to be set at peace; all evil-doers being brought to justice, all the castles which had been built without licence being plucked down, and the hired soldiers sent out of England. The duke stayed for a while in England as Stephen's Justiciar, helping him to carry out the treaty, and then went home. In 1154 Stephen died, October 25, and his body was laid at Feversham, in the abbey he had founded, by the side of his wife and son. Handsome, tall, and strong, a gallant knight, a cheerful companion, a pious, merciful, and mild-hearted man, Stephen's unfitness for the office to which he was chosen is yet most certain. England has never been worse ruled, and the awful verdict of the chronicler can neither be gainsaid nor appealed against—"In his days was nought but war and wickedness and waste."

CHAPTER V.

England under the Norman Kings.

1. Under the Norman kings there were many changes in England. Almost the whole generation of English noblemen and gentry had been swept away, and their places filled by a foreign king, his kinsmen, and soldiers, who, though they did not pretend to have greater right or power than those they had succeeded, yet naturally took advantage of their position to get the most they could out of their tenants and serfs. We hear of heavy exactions, forced labour under

colour of law, of villages laid waste to enlarge the king's hunting-grounds, and town parishes destroyed to make way for the nobles' castles. Ranulf Torch compelled all who held land of the king as *thegens* (barons and knights they were now called) to find a man to serve forty days in the royal army, fully armed and horsed at their expense, for every *knight's fee* (piece of land worth £20 per year) they held. He also exacted *reliefs* (a year's rent) from incoming tenants and heirs, and gave the lord full power over his infant tenant's land till he came of age, and the right of marrying heiresses and widows to whom he would. If the lord made his son a knight, or gave his eldest daughter in marriage, or was captured in war, he looked to his tenants for *aids* or contributions to help him to defray his expenses or his ransom. The barons of course enforced the same services upon their military tenants as the king enforced upon them.

Changes at the
Conquest.

Other free-tenants, *socmen* or *franklins*, were obliged to pay some fixed rent in kind or money and to attend the lord's court, while the *villeins* or tenants at the lord's will were almost entirely at his mercy, and were obliged to labour on his land and buildings whenever he chose to call for their services. But in all these cases the change lay rather in the greater strictness and regularity of the new lords than the rise of new customs or the breach of old rights. There were few new laws made, except about the forests, any man who hunted in the king's woods without permission (and all the untitled *folk-land* was now become royal forest) might be tried and condemned to lose his hands or feet or eyes. Henry I. even ordered that all dogs whose feet were too big to pass through a ring kept by the foresters should have two of the toes of its forefeet cut off, that it might not be able to run down deer, though still useful for droving. These laws were hated, and many Englishmen took to the woods, living as poachers, defying the king's keepers, and robbing the rich passengers, especially foreigners, who passed their haunts, so that people living near a forest were obliged to fortify their houses for fear of these brigands. The Conqueror, after the old English custom, put no man to death for law-breaking, but punished by outlawry, fine, or mutilation; however, his son Henry found the need of sterner measures, and began hanging men for theft and other *felonies* (bad crimes) or *treasons*. We hear of two customs at this time which, whether brought in by the Normans or the Danes, became part of English law. One was *wager of battle*, the right of the accused to prove his innocence by single combat with his

accuser or his champion, instead of by *compurgation* or *ordeal* if he preferred it. The other was the *inquest*, a mode of getting knowledge of the facts of any disputed case by swearing a *jury* of twelve *men of the neighbourhood* to declare what they knew of the subject. It was from the *verdict* or report of such inquests that Domesday Book was put together.

2. The crown was much stronger than before the Conquest, the officers of the royal household had more to do, and the central government became powerful and important. The *justiciar* had to see that justice was given to all who asked it; the *chancellor* issued royal grants, writs (orders to sheriffs to summon juries, arrest prisoners, execute justice, etc.), and warrants; the *treasurer* sat at the king's counting-house, or *Exchequer* as it was now called (because of the chessboard-like cloth on which they reckoned the money), where Henry's friend Roger of Salisbury set up a regular system of keeping and paying accounts, and devised a plan of sending commissioners round to the counties to settle disputes about the revenue in full county court. To the Exchequer, too, every year the sheriffs came to pay the feorm or rent of the county and the fines into the treasury, receiving their *quietus*, or certificate of payment. *Tallies*, little slips of wood notched on the edges with different marks according to the value they represented, were split in two, and (each party keeping half) served as check and counterfoil when any money was paid out of the royal treasury. Beside these great offices often held by churchmen, the great nobles did not now disdain to hold places in the household as *dispenser* (steward), *butler*, *chamberlain*, or to serve the king as *marshal* or *constable* of his host; these places (all held by laymen) soon became hereditary. The king's household, *Curia Regis*, served him as a kind of *Ministry*, and followed him on his journeys. There were still Councils of the Wise Men, and often Great Moots, *Magna Concilia*, to which every one who held land of the king might come. Several new earldoms were made. Two in especial, Chester and Shrewsbury, with *palatine* rights (power to hold courts and to issue writs in the earl's name), to be the better able to defend the Welsh border, were created by William, and others by his successors.

3. In spite of the difficulties of the problem, Lanfranc's policy had been successful: the Church of England was far stronger than before. The king found it his best friend as long as he ruled well, while the people looked to it alone for help against the

The royal
officers and
Curia Regis.

Power and
reforms of
the Church.

lawlessness of the barons or the heavy hands of the king's officers. Henry made two new sees, *Ely* and *Carlisle*, and gave these bishops *palatine* rights for defence against Danes and Scots. Many abbeys were founded by the great barons, and when the strict Cistercian rule was brought to England by Stephen Harding and his fellows, the monasteries of its followers soon sprung up "in the desert places" of the Welsh hills and Yorkshire wolds. The reforming synods of Lanfranc and Anselm, and the new bishops' courts, did much to raise the character of the parish clergy; their decrees against the marriage of priests were, however, still evaded by the payment of a yearly tax to the king. The increasing wealth and zeal of the Church was marked by the stately cathedrals which were fast replacing the smaller and less splendid English minsters, just as the high stone wall, *ballium*, and huge square *keep* (central tower) were everywhere supplanting the paled *foss* of earth and stockaded *mound* of earlier days. The fashion for building great churches and stone castles had indeed begun before the Conquest, as Edward the Confessor's Westminster bears witness; but the finest examples of the Roman round-arch style of building, sacred or secular—such as *Durham Minster*, begun by William of S. Calais and finished by Ranulf Torch; the *Gate Tower* at Bury; *Norwich Minster*, built by Herbert Losinge; *Carisbrooke Keep*; *Tintagel Hold*; Gundulf's *White Tower*, and William of Corbeil's *Keep* at *Rochester*—date from the Norman kings' reign.

4. The English tongue was less changed by the Norman than the Danish Conquest. Charters and deeds were still in Old English or Latin. French was indeed spoken at court, and Latin in the cloister, and a few words found their way into the speech of the people, but the chief effect of the disuse of English by the upper classes was to hasten and deepen the changes already going on in our tongue (as noticed above), and to give rise to the well-marked dialects in which all Middle English was written and spoken.

There were few writers in such hard and restless days; but we must notice the two nameless Peterborough monks who close the *English Chronicle*; William the elder's chaplain, *William of Poitiers*, who wrote of the Norman Conquest; *Orderic of S. Evroult*, an English monk who lived in Normandy and wrote a most minute and pathetic account of his own life and times; *William of Malmesbury*, who wrote for Robert of Gloster the most scientific of our Latin histories; and *Henry*, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, an outspoken critic who loved old ballads and stories.

Language and
letters.

But perhaps the most interesting historical work of this time is the *Bayeux Tapestry*, a strip of white linen (214 by 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ feet) on which are wrought in coloured worsteds a series of pictures of the various acts of the Norman Conquest. It was worked by English women for Odo's church, and recalls the tapestry on which, a century earlier, Byrhtnoth's widow had worked the great deeds of her husband's life as a gift to Ely. That precious relic is lost, but the Bayeux needle-pictures are still unfaded and sound.

Sæwulf the monk's account of his pilgrimage in Palestine is worth reading. There are also a few sermons and satires which show something of the life of the time. At court the favourite poems were the epics of Charlemagne and his peers, the most beautiful of which, *The Death of Roland*, was very likely composed in England by a Norman, *Turolld* (perhaps the Turolldus who figures in the Tapestry), in William the elder's reign. The story of Luc de Barré, who was sentenced to be blinded by Henry I. for the satires he had composed on him, show that the Provençal poetry was known and admired in the north. Although there were as yet no universities, we hear of lectures on Divinity and Roman Law being delivered in Oxford in Henry and Stephen's days.

5. The Norman nobles brought in many new fashions of dress, and in William the Red's time we hear of short tunics embroidered with gold and jewels, long curly-toed Angevin shoes, rich silk scarlet mantles, and much other extravagance of attire among men and women. The fashion for the upper classes at the Conquest in both nations was to clip the hair and shave the face, leaving only mustaches. Young men, however, wore long hair in England, and this custom was taken up by the Normans, and vehemently attacked by the clergy, who looked upon it as womanish and vain. Women's dress remained unaltered. The Normans brought from France many new ways of dressing food, and were careful cooks, despising the gross food and drunkenness of the English. English men and women began to take the favourite French names Matilda, Alice, William, Robert, Henry, Thomas, and the like, and drop their old English and Danish ones.

Many rich foreigners came and settled in the English towns, Jews, Germans, Easterlings (Hansetown folk), and Normans. *Craft-gilds* (trade-clubs among all those of a craft) began to be formed in many cities, as they recovered from the destruction of the first years of conquest. London grew larger and bought fresh rights of Henry I. (the manage-

ment of Middlesex by a sheriff chosen by themselves, and the fixing of the city-rent), and got their old ones confirmed. The constant intercourse with Normandy and the foreign connections of the Norman kings led to men travelling more and trading more widely. Thus we hear of Paul, Earl of Orkney, sending beasts to Henry's menagerie at Woodstock, and of King Sigurd of Norway stopping a winter with him on his way to the Crusades, while the foreign marriages, the visits of the Scots king to England, the embassies from Pope and Emperor, and the constant connection with France in peace or war all show that England was now taking a regular part in European politics and life.

The population of England about 1100 was made up of 9500 military and church tenants; 35,000 yeomen holders (all north of Watling Street or in Kent); 90,000 cottars and bordars (the same class south of Watling Street sunk into the lords' power); 109,000 villeins (freedmen holding land at lord's will); 25,000 serfs (the absolute slaves of their owners), with their families. The remainder, unaccounted for in Domesday, was made up of burgesses (citizen householders), priests, monks, nuns, etc.: in all, about 300,000 families, or about two million souls. Wars, famines, and sickness prevented the population growing fast.

BOOK III.

HENRY II.'S CONSTITUTION AND POLICY.

CHAPTER I.

Henry II. of Anjou, 1154-1189.

1. To restore order and maintain it was not easy, but the new king was well fitted for the task. He had great natural gifts, was of an energetic and persevering character, and an iron constitution, while he had set his heart on seeing his domains peaceful and prosperous. Directly he was crowned, December 19, 1154, he published a *charter*, and began carrying out the articles of the *Wallingford* treaty. The Flemings were sent home to their workshops, or ordered to join their brethren in Wales, the royal farms were restocked, Stephen's foolish grants of land and money annulled, and the great barons of both parties compelled to give up their castles. The rule of law began again; Henry chose Robert, Earl of Leicester, for his Justiciar, and Thomas Beket for Chancellor, appointed fresh judges for his royal court, and put forth a new order allowing disputed criminal cases or suits touching the ownership of land to be decided before a king's judge by *inquest* [inquiry] of *twelve sworn neighbours*, freeholders of the shire, instead of *ordeal* or *wager of battle*.

Henry's wise
measures at
home and
abroad,
1154-1164.

After defeating his brother Geoffrey's attack on Anjou, Henry further secured his realm by making the King of Scots pay him homage at Chester, and give up the earldoms of Cumberland and Northumberland, which he had received from the late king. In an attack on Wales he was less happy, for in a fight at *Consilt Pass*, the standard-bearer of England, Henry, Earl of Essex, threw down the royal banner and fled, whereon the English, supposing the king to be

slain, turned to flight. However, Owen, the Welsh prince, knowing his foe's power, was glad to make peace. Henry of Essex was afterwards accused of treason, and defeated by Robert of Montfort in trial by battle, but was permitted to become a monk, forfeiting all his lands and goods, but saving his life.

Wishing to bring about a lasting peace with the King of France, Henry now sent his Chancellor in great state to France to arrange a marriage between his own little son Henry and Louis' baby daughter Margaret, and himself paid a friendly visit to Paris. But in 1159, when he claimed Toulouse by right of his wife from Raymond of S. Giles, the French king opposed him and war began. By Thomas' advice Henry made his knights pay *scutage* [shield-money] instead of *service-in-arms*, and by this means hired foreign soldiers who would follow him as long as he could pay them, whereas the knights only owed him forty days' service, and the *fyrð* could not be ordered abroad. The King of Scots, the Prince of Wales, and Raymond, Earl of Barcelona, joined the English army, and Henry laid siege to Toulouse; but when Louis threw himself into the city, he was unwilling to fight against his suzerain [feudal lord], and though Beket laughed at his scruples, raised the siege and withdrew his troops. Still the two kings did not become friends; for Henry got leave from the Pope to marry the two children, and so, greatly to Louis' disgust, took possession of the Vexin, Margaret's dowry, long before the French king thought of losing it. However, in 1161, the two princes met at *Chateauroux* to decide which Pope they would acknowledge; for after the death of Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear, Henry's firm friend, the only Englishman who was ever Bishop of Rome) a deadly dispute had arisen between the cardinals, and two rival popes had been chosen. In spite of his friendship for the Emperor Frederick, who favoured Victor, Henry agreed with Louis to stand by Alexander.

2. In 1162 the English bishops, willing to please Henry, chose his friend the Chancellor to fill the vacant see of Canterbury. Thomas Beket was the son of a rich Norman merchant, Gilbert, sometime *port-reeve* of London, and his wife, Maud of Caen, who had brought him up with great care, sending him to the hall of Richer of L'Aigle, his father's friend, to learn courtly behaviour, and to the office of the wealthy Osbern Eightpenny to be taught business. He was for a time at the University of Paris, and is said to have been a pupil of the famous lawyer Gratian at Bologna. Taken into the house-

hold of Archbishop Theobald, he had served him skilfully at home and abroad, and, in spite of jealous enemies, such as Roger of Pont l'Evêque, gained his high esteem. With his master he took part in the reforms of 1154, in which year he was made Archdeacon of Canterbury. Henry soon singled him out as a bold and able man, and besides giving him the chancery, promoted him to other posts of trust. As keeper of the Tower and castellan of Eye, he led 700 knights in the Toulouse war, where he did many deeds of arms, and overcame a French knight, Ingelram of Trie, in single combat. Several well-known stories witness to his close friendship with the king; his kindliness, and the open-handed hospitality, in which he surpassed all his predecessors, assured the favour of the people. Thomas is described as tall and spare, but strong-limbed, dark-haired, pale-cheeked, of pleasing countenance, blithe manners, and quick, frank speech, stammering a little when he was moved. In youth he had been known as a good chess-player, a bold rider, and keen sportsman. He was always a hater of liars and slanderers, and a kind friend to dumb beasts and all poor and helpless folk.

The struggle
with Beket,
1164-1170.

Henry looked to his new archbishop for aid in the plans he was now devising for bounding the powers of the Church courts and bettering the law, but Thomas made up his mind to serve the Church as singly and zealously as he had hitherto served the king, and at once gave up the Chancellorship, much to the king's displeasure. He then took measures against some courtiers who were, he believed, defrauding the see of Canterbury, and at the Great Council of Woodstock in 1162 successfully withstood the king to the face, when he wished to turn the Dangelde shire-fees into a regular tax to be newly assessed, declaring that he would not suffer a penny to be paid off his or any other land. At the same time he entirely changed his mode of life, giving up all courtly amusements and worldly business, and spending all his time in the care of his diocese, the relief of the poor and sick, and his religious duties, fasting often, secretly scourging himself daily for penance, and wearing a haircloth next his skin, though he still dressed richly and kept grand state. In 1163 at a Great Council at *Westminster*, in consequence of a case in which a clergyman had committed a crime and, being claimed by the Church, escaped capital punishment, the king determined to put an end to this conflict of laws by which evil-doers might profit, and asked the bishops whether for the future they would be willing to

abide by the Old Customs of the realm, as settled in his grandfather's day. To this all agreed "saving the rights of their order," whereupon Henry ordered his justiciar, Richard of Lucy, and his clerk, Jocelin of Balliol, to draw up a list of these Old Customs. *Sixteen Constitutions* or Articles were accordingly set before the bishops in a Great Council at *Clarendon*, January 1164.

By these—1. Bishops were to be chosen by the king's consent, and must do him homage and attend his courts like other barons, save when capital offences were being dealt with.

2. All questions touching Church patronage, land held by *lay service* (rent or service-in-arms), contracts, capital offences committed by clergymen, and injuries done to the clergy by laymen were to be tried in the king's courts.

3. Lesser offences committed by clergymen against laymen or their fellow-clergy, and suits relating to land held by *spiritual service* (the performance of Church duties) were to be tried in the Church courts.

4. No layman was to be punished by the Church courts, and no clergyman might leave the realm or appeal to Rome without first getting the king's leave.

5. No serf might be ordained without his lord's leave.

Thomas protested that these Constitutions attacked the liberties of the Church, which the king in his coronation oath had sworn to maintain, and was only persuaded to sign them by the prayer of his fellow-bishops. Directly he had signed them he repented, withdrew his signature, and sent to beg forgiveness of the Pope for having wronged the Church. His enemies took care to fan Henry's natural anger at his old friend's opposition, and another Council met at *Northampton*, 8th October 1164, where the archbishop was accused of denying justice to John the Treasury-Marshal, found guilty, and heavily fined; and further ordered to account for 30,000 marks spent by him while Chancellor. In vain he proved that the Justiciar Richard had set him free of all claims when he laid down his office. The king would not stay the proceedings unless Thomas would agree to the Constitutions. Whereupon the archbishop came into the Council in full robes with the crosier in his hand, and refusing to allow Earl Robert to pass sentence against him, put himself and the Church under the keeping of God and the Pope. There were shouts of anger at his words. Earl Hamelin, the king's brother, and Randulf of Brok cried, "Traitor! traitor!" and others tore up the rushes from the

floor and flung them at him. Turning fiercely to the earl, "If I might bear arms," he said, "I would quickly prove on you that you lied." "You, Randulf, look at home [his cousin has lately been hanged for felony] before you accuse the guiltless!" and passed out of the hall.

Hopeless of aid from his fellow-bishops, who all sided with the king, he fled in disguise to Flanders that very night. Both parties appealed to Alexander, who was then at Sens. Henry in his anger cruelly banished all Thomas' friends and kinsmen, 400 in number; but the French king, who took up the archbishop's cause warmly, received them and gave them lodging and food in his domains. Knowing that the Emperor Frederick (to whose friend Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, the English king had just betrothed his daughter Margaret) was trying to gain King Henry's help for his new antipope Pascal [Victor's successor], Alexander was lukewarm in backing Thomas' cause, though he could not honestly give it up, and let the case drag on.

Meanwhile the English king strengthened himself by getting the hand of Constance, heiress of Richmond and Brittany, for his third son Geoffrey, and went on with his law reforms. Early in 1166 he issued the *Assize of Clarendon*, instructions for the judges going on circuit; for, copying the plan of his grandfather (who had sent his judges to the county courts to hear and decide *revenue cases*), he had ordered them to try *all important cases, civil or criminal*, in the shire courts, thus preventing the feudal lords from setting up *private courts of justice* of their own, apart from the royal authority, and curbing the sheriffs, who might have used their offices to advance their own power if not checked by the king's judges. This assize obliged all landholders to attend the county courts, restored the old *grand jury*, fallen into disuse in Stephen's days, and provided that all accused must clear themselves before the king's judges by the *inquest of twelve sworn neighbours* (our petty jury) or by *wager of battle*, or else leave the kingdom, even though they could clear themselves by *ordeal*, for it was now felt that the *ordeal* was merely a matter of chance.

In June, weary of the Pope's delay, Thomas reopened the quarrel by excommunicating the Justiciar Richard and others for upholding the Constitutions, and Randulf of Brok for taking a piece of Church land. They appealed to the Pope against this sentence, and Henry threatened to banish the Cistercians because their brethren were sheltering the archbishop at Pontigny. He therefore moved to Sens

(where his vestments may still be seen), and the King of France and many discontented nobles in Brittany, Poitou, and Guienne took up arms in his favour, the Earl of Flanders even threatening to invade England. But Alexander, whom Frederick had driven from Rome, feared King Henry's power, and did his best to reconcile him with Thomas. After many meetings, a kind of truce was patched up in 1169, the king still refusing to give the archbishop the *kiss of peace* (the sign of friendship), and the archbishop still condemning the Constitutions.

3. In 1170 Henry determined to make his eldest son king in his lifetime, after the French fashion, that there might always be some one in England to see the laws enforced when he himself was obliged to be in his foreign dominions. Accordingly Becket's old foe Roger, now Archbishop of York, hallowed the young Henry king at Westminster, January 14, 1170, the old king serving as cupbearer at the coronation feast. Thomas, furious at this breach of his rights, for it was the privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown all English kings, got the Pope's order to suspend Roger, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, his abettors, from their offices, and King Louis threatened war because his daughter had not been crowned with her husband. Hastening to France, Henry made friends with Thomas, and gave him leave to return to his see. The archbishop started at once, but found scant welcome in England after his seven years' exile, for most men held with the king, and looked on him as a traitor, save the poor, who remembered his charity. Roger laughed at his complaints, the young king, his former pupil, would not receive him and forbade him to leave his see, and those who had wasted his lands and goods refused to make good the damage. At last, on Christmas Day, he

The death of
Archbishop
Thomas,
Dec. 1170.

read the sentence on Roger and the two bishops, and cast Randulf of Brok and his brother Robert out of the pale of the Church for insulting him by docking the tail of one of his pack-horses. The bishops crossed the sea at once to complain to the king, who was keeping his Christmas at Bur. When Henry heard of it he fell into one of those terrible rages to which he sometimes gave way. "Here is a man that has eaten my bread, a pitiful fellow that came to my court on a sorry hackney, and owes all he has to me, lifting his heel against me, and insulting my kingdom and my kindred. And not one of the cowardly sluggish servants I feed and pay so well has had the heart to avenge me!"

Four of the king's knights, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William of Tracy, Hugh of Moreville, and Richard the Breton, hearing these words and the saying of Roger of York, "As soon as Thomas is dead all this trouble will be at an end, but not before," took ship at once for England. They passed the night of the 28th December at Saltwood Castle with Randulf of Brok, and next day rode on to Canterbury with Hugh of Horsea, called the Evil Deacon, and twelve of Randulf's men. Making their way at once to the archbishop's chamber, they found him sitting on his bed talking to John of Salisbury his clerk, Edward Grim a young priest, and a few other friends. He recognised Reginald, William, and Hugh, who had once served under him, but waited for them to speak.

"We bring you the king's order," said Reginald, "to do your duty and absolve the bishops without more delay."

"I have only enforced the Pope's order. I have always done my duty to the king."

"Avoy!" they cried, "you have broken his commands again and again."

"But, Reginald, you yourself saw him reconciled to me."

"Never."

"Nay, I saw you there with my own eyes! Besides, Randulf and his brother have wronged me and my men!"

"You have your remedy in the king's court, seek it there!"

"I shall do justice myself on all that wrong the Church. But enough of this. You should remember the tie between us, Reginald!"

"We are the king's men, and owe fealty to no one against him. Do you threaten us?"

Then they bit their gloves, and defied the archbishop angrily, bidding his servants keep him in the precincts on peril of their heads, and left the room.

"Ah, my lord," cried John of Salisbury, "why will you not listen to us and deal gently with your enemies?"

"I gave way once, John; I will never give way again."

"You are ready to die, my lord, but we are not; think of our peril."

"God's will be done!"

Meanwhile the knights were arming themselves in the courtyard; when the frightened monks saw them by the apple-tree in their mail-shirts with drawn swords, they ran to the archbishop and begged him to fly to the cathedral, but he laughed at their fears—"All you monks are cowards, I think!"—and would not stir till the vesper bell rang, when he walked to the minster. The knights now broke into the

cloister, and reaching S. Bennett's chapel just after him, began hammering at the door, which the monks had barred behind them. "Unbolt that door!" said Thomas, "I will not have God's house made a fortress for me." Then he slipped back the bar himself, refusing to fly, and when the angry knights rushed in with cries of "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" turned to meet them. "Here I am; but why do you, Reginald, of all men, come armed into church against me?" Reginald caught hold of his mantle, "Traitor that you are, come out of the church!" but he tore the mantle from him with a bitter answer, refusing to leave the cathedral. "Absolve the bishops then!" "Not till they make amends for their sin." "Then you must die here!" "You cannot frighten me; I am ready to die, but let my men go free!" They tried to drag him from the chapel, but he clung to the great pillar, and Edward Grim held him fast, till Tracy, who had thrown off his heavy mail-coat that he might move the easier, laid hands on him, when the archbishop grew angry and hurled him to the ground. With that Fitz-Urse shouted "Strike! strike!" and smote off his coif with his sword, and Tracy leaped up and cut savagely at his bare head. The brave Grim dashed between them, caught the blade on his arm, and fell back badly wounded, but the point gashed Thomas' brow, and the blood ran down his face. He never flinched, though he knew his hour was come, but bowed his head, and commended his cause and that of the Church to God, S. Denis, and the saints of the minster. Moreville drew back shocked, but Reginald struck him again, and Tracy felled him senseless to the pavement. Richard (whose master, Earl William, Thomas had parted from his wife) struck at him as he lay, crying, "This for the earl's sake!" and the Evil Deacon brutally mangled the dead man's head. "Let us go now," said Fitz-Urse, "he will never rise again;" and shouting "King's knights! king's knights!" they rushed off to plunder the palace. The monks crept back in the dark and took up the corpse, doubting whether the archbishop had been justly slain or no, but when below his splendid robes they found the haircloth he always wore, and saw on his body the marks of the stripes of his daily penance, their doubts fled and they proclaimed him a martyr. The news horrified all that heard it, and Henry's grief for his hasty words was deep and true. He sent instant explanations to the Pope, and then fearing that his enemies might prevail with him, started on an expedition to Ireland, where he stayed till the Pope's legates came to

Normandy, when he cleared himself before them by oath at Avranches of all foreknowledge of the archbishop's death, promised to give up the Constitutions, and to stand by Alexander against the emperor. Thomas was canonized in 1174; a splendid shrine rose at Canterbury in his honour, to which, through the fame of his miraculous power, crowds of pilgrims flocked from all parts for healing, and many churches were built in his honour.

However, the results of the struggle were not unfavourable to the king; he had no further trouble with the Church, and the Constitutions held good in deed, though not in name, and it is likely that but for the murder, Thomas would have lived to see the defeat of his cause. But it must be held in mind that the archbishop had on his side the Church or *Canon Law*, which he had sworn to obey, and certainly the lay courts erred as much on the side of harshness and cruelty as those of the Church on that of foolish pity towards evil-doers. Thomas would doubtless have withstood an evil king as boldly as he resisted a good one, and in the reverence of centuries he has had his reward. One of his secretaries sums up the matter: "Nothing is more sure than that both strove earnestly to please God; one for the sake of his people, the other on behalf of the Church; but whether of the two was zealous according to knowledge is not manifest to man, who is so easily mistaken, but to the Lord, who will judge between them at the last day."

4. About 550 B.C. the Kelts, *sons of Miledh* [the Soldier] and *Eremon* [the Ploughman], first crossed into *Erin* [Iberians' land], and set up small kingdoms there by force of arms. Many legends of the struggle between the two races remain, and we know that the Iberian tribes early accepted the Keltic tongue, took Keltic chiefs to rule over them, and agreed to pay tribute to the Keltic Head-King; most of Leinster and Munster and part of Ulster remaining to them, while the rest of the island was held by the Kelts. Of the old Homeric heathen days of Ireland, with their gods, wizards, charioted heroes, and Amazonian ladies, we have the beautiful stories of *Queen Mab* and *Cuculain*, the champion of the north, and the Warriors of the Red Branch and the hapless Sons of Visnach, and the later tales of the Fenians, *Finn mac Coul* and his hound *Bran*, *Conn* of the hundred fights, *Diarmaid* the courteous, *Oscar* the brave, and the aged bard *Ossian*, who outlived them all, and sang their glory and their fate.

Ireland,
B.C. 550-
A.D. 1169.

Palladius, Pope Cælestine's archdeacon, was the first to preach the Gospel to the Irish, but they would not hear him. To Patrick, however, a Welshman who had been a slave among them in his youth, and went back in 440 to teach them the New Faith, they listened gladly and became Christians. As the hymn tells—

“He preached, he baptized, he prayed, from the praise of God he ceased not.

The cold of the weather stayed him not from spending the night in the pools.

In heaven he won his kingdom. He preached by day on the hills.

He slept on a bare stone, with a wet robe around him.

A pillar-stone was his pillow, he left not his body in warmth.

On the people of Erin was darkness. The peoples worshipped the gods of the earth

Until the Apostle came to them, he came as the wending of a swift wind,

Threescore years he preached Christ's cross to the heathen Fenians.”

Christianity worked less change in Ireland than in England. It did away, indeed, with many foul superstitions and cruelties, replaced the Druids' colleges by monastic families and schools, brought in such Roman civilization as had survived in the towns of West Britain (whence Patrick and most of his followers came), introducing the Latin alphabet, tongue, and learning; but it did little to unite the warring tribes, and could not check the feuds which kept them apart. The Irish Church always remained in form a missionary Church; in each tribe there arose a monastery round the cell of some saintly teacher who had gathered to him a body of disciples, as Columba, for instance, did at Hy. An abbot, often of royal blood, ruled this minster, and under his orders a number of bishops and priests went forth to minister to the small churches of the different *septs* or *clans* which make up the tribe, or travelled to more distant lands, Helvetia, Caledonia, or England, where their noble labours were, perhaps, more successful and famous than at home. But though these pious and learned Irish Churchmen had less influence over the daily life of their countrymen than our more ignorant and less ascetic parish clergy, they justly earned for their land the name of the *Isle of Saints*.

The soil, climate, and shape of Ireland, which made it a paradise for a pastoral people, were all unfavourable to agriculture or trade, and it was not easy for the tribes, had they wished it, to join under one strong central government,

or for the farmers to improve their tillage, and take to settled village life as the English had done; so that the account given above of the Britons before the Romans came, may well serve for that of the Irish down to the beginning of the ninth century.

About that time the Ostmen [men from the *East*, *i.e.* Norwegians], after many years of plundering, began to settle, Thorgils and his brother first, and after them Anlaf, Sihtric, and Ingwar, the sons of Ragnar, setting up colonies along the south and east coasts at Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, and in the Isle of Man. The history of those little states is made up of wars with the native Irish, forays and trading voyages into Wales and England, and emigrations to the far northern islands Iceland and the Færeys. They were forced to acknowledge the overlordship of Eadgar and Cnut, and Brian of the Tribute, Head-King of Ireland, put a limit to their conquests by his victory at *Clontarf*, Good Friday 1014, in which he defeated Sigtryg Silk-beard, King of Dublin, and a host of Orkney wickings; but the house of Godwine was their firm ally. Upon the Irish, beyond the momentary union the dread of them brought about, and the introduction of new weapons and better shipping, the Ostmen's influence was slight; though, on the other hand, the Ostmen learned Christianity from the Irish, and gained the knowledge of many arts, such as music, harp-playing, new kinds and forms of poetry, the Roman alphabet, and the way of putting together and telling histories and legends in regular form.

5. When Henry first came to the throne he planned the conquest of Ireland, wishing to make his brother William king there, and got a bull from his friend Adrian (who claimed authority over all islands as part of the Papal domains) allowing him to subdue and rule it on condition of paying *Rome-Scot*, a penny a year for each house, and upholding the Irish Church. But, like Agricola and the two Williams, he let the matter drop, till in 1166, Diarmaid, King of Leinster, who had carried off the wife of Tigernan O'Ruairc, Lord of Leitrim, and was flying from the vengeance of the High-King Roderick O'Connor, came to him for help to get back his kingdom, offering to do him homage in return. Henry would not act himself, but let Diarmaid get what help he could from his barons. He was able to engage the aid of Richard Strongbow of Clare, Earl of Pembroke, and went back to Ireland to prepare for his coming. Strongbow sent over before him

Conquest of
Ireland,
1169-1171.

his kinsmen Fitz-Gerald and Fitz-Stephen with a few troops in May 1169, and they succeeded in taking Wexford from the Ostmen who had defied Diarmaid. The earl himself followed in August with 80 knights and 1000 Welsh archers, the king joined him, and they stormed another Ostman's town, Waterford, gallantly held by Rognwald and the two Sihtrics, and won back Leinster. Diarmaid now fulfilled his bargain and gave Eva his daughter to Richard to wife, and promised him his kingdom when he died, which by Irish law he had no right to do. The allies then beset Dublin, ruled by the Ostman Earl Haskulf Rognwaldsson, and took it by surprise, Haskulf escaping to the Western Isles with his galleys. There he got help and came back with John the Mad, a Norwegian wicking, to try and recover the city, but they were both taken and slain. Roderick the high-king, now awakened to his danger and hoping to crush the *strangers* at one blow (for Diarmaid died at this moment and Richard's claim to his throne was resisted even in Leinster), laid siege to Dublin by land with a huge host, while Guthred, King of Man, blockaded the harbour with sixty war-ships. Provisions ran low in the town, but in their despair the English knights made a sudden and furious sally, throwing the undisciplined Irish into panic flight, whereupon Guthred, seeing his cause hopeless, sailed back to Man. A third attack by O'Ruairc and the men of Meath was easily met, and Waterford, lost for a moment, speedily retaken.

All Leinster, great part of Desmond [South Munster] and Meath, and the Ostmen's coast towns had been won in a few months. King Henry was alarmed at Richard's success, and fearing lest he should set up a rival kingdom in the new-won land, recalled him to England. He obeyed, crossed to *Newnham*, and there did homage to the king for Dublin and Leinster. Henry then set out with 500 knights and thousands of archers in a fleet of 400 sail to visit his new domains. In a wattled palace near Dublin he received the homage of the Irish kings of Munster and lords of Kinsale, Oriel, and Ulster, and even compelled the high-king to agree to a truce (which in 1175 was changed to a peace at *Windsor* by the efforts of Lawrence O'Toole, the holy Archbishop of Dublin). The Irish clergy, under the Bishop of Lismore, the Pope's *legate*, met at *Cashel* and accepted the rule of the English king, who granted them freedom from all taxes, *purveyance* [duty of feeding the king's court], and were-gilds, and provided for their regular maintenance by tithes. Having caused a survey to

be made of the conquered country, the *English Pale* or Border as it was called, Henry confirmed Waterford and Wexford to Fitz-Gerald and Hervey his kinsmen, and made Strongbow *Marshal of Ireland*, settling friends of his own beside them, Hugh of Lacy as *Justiciar and Constable* in Meath, and Theobald Walter, Beket's sister's son, as *Butler* in Ormond [North Munster]. He also set up Royal Courts in Dublin and established English law in the Pale. He then went back to Normandy, before he could build the line of castles he had planned along the border, to meet the Pope's messengers. He wished to make his favourite son, Earl John, King of Ireland, and Pope Urban even sent him a crown of peacock's feathers for him; but the young man's foolish and insulting behaviour to the Irish chiefs, when he was governor there in 1185, put an end to this plan.

The conquest of Down in 1177 by John of Courcy, son-in-law of Guthred, King of Man, and the settlement of the Graces, MacMahons, De Burghs, and other Norman families, north, west, and south of the Pale, complete the story of the Settlement. For the next 150 years Irish history tells of little but cruel feuds between the native tribes, endless wars between them and the English settlers, and deadly struggles between these settlers themselves, one party headed by the Geraldines (Fitz-Gerald's kin) and the other by the Butlers, which the king's governors of the Pale were powerless to check or put down.

Earl John's tutor, Gerald of Barry, a Welsh priest, whose kinsmen Fitz-Gerald, Miles Cogan, and others were the heroes of the Conquest, has left a lively account of Ireland in his day, which explains the rapid success of the invasion. Besides the chiefs' guards, *gallowglasses* armed in Norwegian fashion, the Irish had only their armourless *kernes*, footmen, with darts, knives, stones, and wicker shields, or little iron bucklers, to oppose the mail-clad knights, disciplined Flemish men-at-arms, and skilful Welsh archers. Even the invaders' small numbers were in their favour when set against unwieldy crowds of untrained men, as Cortez and Pizarro found in like case. Only in the cities did they meet with able resistance, for there horsemanship was of no avail, and the Ostman, as well armed and trained as themselves, met broadsword and lance with his terrible war-axe, and only yielded when he could fight no longer. Nor could all the skill of Richard Strongbow himself, that cheery cool-headed leader with the fair womanly face, large bright eyes, and shrill voice, nor all the well-ordered bravery of his

followers have ensured success, without the help of Diarmaid, the disunion and feuds of the Irish princes, and the neutrality of the Irish clergy, who believed that God had sent the strangers as a scourge upon the land because of the national sins of cruelty, treachery, and the slave-trade.

Among the things which struck Gerald as peculiar to this hitherto-unknown land are the quaint Irish costumes,—the men's plaited saffron-dyed shirts, parti-coloured hoods, cloth breeches, cowskin brogues, and red mantles, and the women's long-sleeved sarks and huge cloaks; the little horses ridden without saddle or stirrups, and the fine cattle, the mainstay of life (for in Ireland feudalism was founded upon the giving and taking of *stock*, not *land*). He admires their wit, poetry, and harp-playing, wonders at their primitive law and curious old customs, notices their deep reverence for holy places and relics, blames the drunkenness and praises the piety of their clergy, and tells of the strong clan-feeling, fickleness, and turbulence of the axe-bearing Irish gentry,—characteristics which appear almost unchanged in the later accounts of the same people by Froissart in Richard II.'s and Spenser in Elizabeth's days.

6. Henry's worst foes were ever those of his own household. His wife Eleanor did not live happily with him, and encouraged her headstrong and undutiful sons to defy their father. In 1173 the young king, chafing at being king only in name, for his father would not trust him to rule alone in Normandy or England, and sorely angered at the banishment of one of his favourites, went off secretly by night to S. Denis, and getting help of King Louis, took up arms. The Earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois, jealous of Henry's power in France, eagerly espoused his cause; his brothers, Geoffrey of Brittany and Richard of Poitou, joined him with their vassals; and many of the great nobles of England, especially those that still held lands in Normandy, disliking Henry's good law and longing for a king who would allow them to deal with their men as they liked, gladly rose in rebellion. Henry, seeing the danger, at once hired 10,000 Brabanters, drove Louis out of Normandy, and crushed the revolt in Brittany, defeating the rebels at *Dol* and capturing their ringleaders, Hugh, Earl of Chester, and Raoul of Fougères. The young king now incited William the Lion, King of Scots, to attack England, promising him those northern counties, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, which his father had refused to give up to him. He accordingly invaded England

The great rebellion of 1174.

with an army of Galloway men and Highlanders, who plundered the country most horribly, but were unable to take the border towns, in which the English barons held out stoutly till the Justiciar Lucy the loyal and the bold Constable Humfrey of Bohun could come to their aid. They managed to obtain a truce from King William, and hastened south to save England; for the Earl of Leicester and his warlike wife Pernel had landed at Orwell with 15,000 Flemings, had been at once joined by the Earls of Norfolk and Derby, and had already taken Norwich. A sudden attack upon the invaders near *Bury S. Edmunds* threw them into disorder, the earl was taken, and the countess, who had ridden through Norfolk in armour like a knight, fell into a ditch in her flight, where she lost her rich rings and was almost drowned before her captors could rescue her. The country-folk, angry at the ravages of the Flemings, came out with their forks and flails and killed every foreigner they could lay hands on.

England was, however, not yet safe. Roger of Mowbray with the Earls of Derby and Norfolk were still in the field, and the Earl of Leicester's castles garrisoned against the king. A second Flemish invasion was threatened, for young Henry and the Earl of Flanders were at Gravelines with a fleet waiting only for a fair wind. Earl David of Huntingdon, King William's brother, had marched to relieve Leicester with a proud company of Scottish knights, and the truce being over, the Scottish king himself was again besetting the northern towns. The *fyrd* of the northern shires, however, turned out against him, and the northern barons and gentry quitted themselves like men. Lucy had sent already for King Henry, who having quelled the revolt in Poitou, was now able to sail for England. On the way to London he stopped at Canterbury to do penance at Thomas Becket's tomb. Outside the town a procession of clergy met him, with whom, barefoot and barehead in his linen clothes, with only a horse-cloth over his shoulders, though it was raining heavily, he walked to the cathedral. There he was scourged by the monks as penance, and passed the night watching, fasting, and praying on the bare ground by the tomb. Next day he started for London, where he was warmly welcomed by the faithful citizens. "Worn out with anxiety, fatigue, and long fasting, he was leaning on his elbow half asleep on his couch that evening, while a servant rubbed his feet, when there came a messenger to the door, calling softly to the chamberlain, 'Let me in! I must see

the king at once.' 'I dare not, the king is asleep. Come in the morning.' The king roused himself at the noise, 'Who is there? Let him in!' 'Brian, Ranulf of Glanville's man, from the north.' 'What news, Brian?' 'Sire, the King of Scots is taken, and all his barons.' 'Is this the truth?' 'Yea, sire, by my faith.' 'Then God be thanked, and S. Thomas the martyr!' Then the king arose and went to his councillors and woke them, telling them the good news. Next day in the forenoon there came other messengers confirming Brian's words. Then the king sent for Brian, and handing him his riding-switch told him that ten farms went with it as a reward for his good tidings."

On the 13th July, Odinel of Umfraville, hearing that King William with sixty knights and a few Flemings had gone on before his host to *Alnwick*, proposed to Ranulf of Glanville to fall upon him at once while he was unprepared. Under cover of a fog they rode unseen to the meadow where William was tilting with his knights, and raised their war-cry. The king put on his helmet, mounted his grey steed, and shouting to his friends, "Now we can soon prove who is the best man!" charged the English barons. But the grey horse was thrust through with a lance, and fell, dragging its rider to the ground, so that he could not rise and was at once taken prisoner. Most of his knights were captured with him, but the Flemings were slain without quarter. When it was known that King William had been sent prisoner to Henry, the leaderless Scots hastened home, and Earl David and the other rebels gave in one by one. So that in a few days the king was able to go back to Normandy, and drive his son from before Rouen, which he had closely beset. With this the rebellion ended. Henry was very merciful, he forgave his undutiful sons, let the traitor earls go free, with the loss of their castles only, many of which he pulled down, and released the King of Scots by a treaty sworn at *Falaise*, 1174, in which he promised to do homage for his kingdom, and make his clergy acknowledge the rule of the Archbishop of York.

7. Henry was now able to take up the work which the death of Becket and the revolt had hindered. Filling up the vacant sees and lay offices, he himself went round the country in 1175 to see that the Forest Law was carried out and evil-doers rightly punished, for many disbanded soldiers and convicts had taken to the woods. He also forbade the bearing of arms in England. In 1176, by the *Assize of Northampton*, he

Henry's
reforms,
1174-1183.

ordered his judges to see that every man swore *fealty* to him, and made sterner punishments for robbers and outlaws. In 1177 he held a grand review of all his knights, barons, and earls at *London*. In 1178 he set a board of five judges to hear appeals from the Assizes, this new court was called *King's Bench*. Next year the great Justiciar, Richard of Lucy, became a monk in the monastery he had founded at Lesnes in honour of S. Thomas, and Ranulf of Glanville took his place. Their faithful comrade against the rebels, Geoffrey, Bishop of Lincoln, the king's base son, was made Chancellor soon after. In 1181, too, the *Assize of Arms* was put forth, regulations for better ordering of the *militia*, which had done such good service in 1173. Every freeman according to his degree was to furnish himself with arms and attend regular musters before the king's judges of assize—the knight or squire with helmet, mail-coat, shield, and lance; the yeoman with hauberk, iron headpiece, and lance; the burgess and artisan with wadded coat, headpiece, and lance—under penalty of losing their lives or limbs.

8. Henry was now at the height of his power. He married his daughters Joan and Eleanor to the kings of Sicily and Castile, and acted as umpire for the latter and his uncle the King of Navarre. Henry the Lion, who had quarrelled with the emperor, took refuge at his court, and the young King of France, Philip, sought his friendship and alliance. But the folly of his sons brought fresh troubles: Earl Richard had refused to do homage for Aquitaine to his jealous brother Henry, who listened to his friend Bertran of Born, and in alliance with Geoffrey of Brittany attacked him fiercely. "This Bertran was a good knight, a good lover, and a good poet, wise and fair-spoken, and well skilled to work either good or evil. He could govern King Henry and his sons as he liked. But he would always have them warring together, father and brother and son, one against the other. And he would always have the kings of France and England warring together. And if there were peace or truce, then would he labour to egg them on by his satires to undo the peace, and persuade them that peace was a dishonour to each of them. In his songs he used to call the Earl of Brittany *Rassa*, and Earl Richard *Yea and Nay*, and the young king *Sailor*." Henry started to succour Richard, when the young king fell ill and died, begging his father's forgiveness, 11th June 1183. He was rash, proud, and faithless, but his bravery, generosity, and handsome face had

Henry's last
days and death,
1183-1189.

won him many friends. In one of his Laments for him Bertran says—

“From this weak world, so full of bitterness,
Love speeds, its joy is far too false to stay,
Nor is there aught but turns to nothingness;
The days grow base, each worse than yesterday.
So men may see by the young English king,
That was of all good knights most valorous,
His gentle loving heart is gone from us—
Wherefore is grief and sore distress and woe!”

Bertran was one of the last that held out against Henry and Earl Richard, and when his castle was stormed, he was taken and brought before the angry king. “‘You boasted, Bertran, that you would never need more than half your wits, you need them all now to save your head.’ ‘It was a true boast, sire; but the day your son, the brave young king, died, I lost all my wits and senses and skill.’ When the king heard what Bertran said, sorrowing for his son, great grief filled his heart and his eyes and he swooned away for sorrow. And when he came to himself he said with tears, ‘O Bertran, you are right indeed, and it is small wonder that you should have lost your senses at my son’s death, for he wished your welfare more than any one in the world. And for love of him I set you and your land and castle free, and give you back my love and favour and grant you 500 marks for the damage I have done you.’ Then Bertran fell at the king’s feet and thanked him with all his heart.”

Next year John and Geoffrey quarrelled with Richard, and the king with difficulty stopped this civil war. For a time, however, these disputes were stayed; for Heraklios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, came to England on behalf of the barons and knights and clergy of that kingdom, to offer the crown to Henry as the only prince that could save them from Saladin. But in spite of the Patriarch’s prayers, tears, and even curses, Henry was too wise to leave his Western kingdom exposed to the attacks of the French king and the misbehaviour of his sons. In 1186 Earl Geoffrey again rebelled, but his death from a fall at a tournament in Paris, and the evil tidings from the East, restored peace between Philip and Henry at *Gisors*, 1188, where both kings and Earl Richard took the Cross, and laid *tithes* on all men’s goods for the equipment of their armies. For Saladin had overthrown the Christians at *Tiberias*, taking the king and the True Cross, and seized Ascalon and the Holy City itself, disasters which called for a fresh crusade.

However, before Henry could take steps to fulfil his vow, Philip broke the peace, and Earl Richard, jealous of his father's love for John, suddenly went over to him with all his vassals. Fever-stricken and disheartened by his son's treachery, Henry saw his birthplace, Le Mans, taken before his eyes, and was unable to save Tours. His luck had left him, and he made peace at *Colombières*, July 4, 1189, promising to make Richard his heir, and to let his barons swear homage to him. As he gave the kiss of peace to his traitor son, he prayed God to let him live long enough to punish him; but when he found that John, for whom he had suffered this dishonour, had been leagued against him, his heart broke, he threw himself on his bed, with his face to the wall, and groaned, "Let things go as they will, I care no more for myself or anything in the world." Two days more he lingered, crying in his fever, "Shame, shame on a conquered king!" and then, on the 7th July, died in the arms of his one faithful son, Geoffrey the Chancellor. Richard now repented, but all he could do was to follow his father's body with bitter tears to its grave at Font-Evraud.

Eyewitnesses describe Henry as of a ruddy weather-beaten countenance, round head, reddish hair, and fierce grey eyes; of middle height, strong limbed, deep chested, and somewhat stout of body in spite of his temperate fare and ceaseless exercise; for he rose at daybreak, passed most of his time on horseback, and when he came home in the evening, would tire out his courtiers by standing, for he would never sit down save at council or dinner. His ungloved hands were rough and scarred with work, his legs bowed with riding, and his voice harsh from shouting to his soldiers and his hounds. His subjects knew him as a wise and mighty king, merciful and careful of his people's rights, but bearing not the sword in vain, the father of the poor, the wayfarer, and the stranger, "the flower of the princes of this world;" but we must look on him as the great *lawyer* who linked the free old English local moots to the strong central Royal Court by his plan of *petty juries* and *judges of assize*, a system which in substance is ours of to-day; and be thankful to the wise *statesman* who saved England from the barons' tyranny and the despotism of the Church, and made firm the foundations upon which his successors have reared the free Constitutions under which we English and Americans are now living.

CHAPTER II.

Richard Lion-Heart, 1189-1199.

1. On June 20 Richard was girt with the sword of the Duchy of Normandy at Rouen, where he made his brother John Earl of Mortain, and named Geoffrey to the archbishopric of York. He also sent to England to free his mother, Eleanor, from the imprisonment she had been in since 1173, and made her Regent of the realm till he could cross the sea. This he was soon able to do, and on September 3, in great state and before a mighty gathering of clergy and barons, he was hallowed king at Westminster. As he had made up his mind to fulfil his vow, he now busied himself with getting together money for his journey and settling for the good rule of domains whilst he was away. Meaning to make his nephew Arthur of Brittany his heir, in order to bind his brother John to faithfulness he gave him the earldoms of Cornwall, Derby, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, many castles, and a rich wife, Hawis, heiress of Gloster. He freed the King of Scots from the homage of *Falaise* for 10,000 marks, and sold the earldom of Northumberland to the crafty Bishop of Durham, Hugh of Puiset, so turning "an old bishop into a young earl." William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, bought the Chancery for £3000, and was made Justiciar, for Ranulf of Glanville wished to join the Crusade. The sheriffs were shifted, the vacant sees and offices filled, and many grants of crown lands made, a goodly sum being paid in each case to the king, who swore "he would have sold London could he have found a bidder," for he put everything up for sale. In December Richard left England and set out on his journey through France.

Richard makes
ready for the
Crusade, 1189-
1190.

2. For some time companies of Jews had been dwelling under the kings' care in many English towns. As for the most part they gained their living by money-lending, which the Church forbade to Christians, and as they were thought to use witchcraft and believed to kidnap Christian children and slay them for sacrifice at their passover, they were much hated by the people. The Church also looked with disfavour upon them because of their religion. But the kings, who took care to make them pay highly for the rights they gave them and shared in their gains, found them a useful source of

The slaughters
of the Jews,
1189-1190.

income. They used to wear a dress of their own, and dwell apart from their fellow-townsmen in walled and gated quarters of the town called *Jewries*, governed by their own *rabbis*, and living under their own law.

On Richard's coronation day no Jew or woman was allowed to come into the king's presence for fear of witchcraft, but in the afternoon, while the people were crowding at the gate of the banqueting-room to get a sight of Richard, some hapless Jewish Elders, who had come up (as the custom was) to bring gifts to the new king, were thrust by the press inside the doors. The royal servants cast them out with blows and curses, whereon the mob fell upon them and beat them shamefully, and raising a cry that the king had commanded all the Jews to be slain, rushed off to attack the London Jewry. House after house was broken into, sacked and fired, and the inmates cruelly slain. The rioting was so great, and the mob so savage (for all the prisoners had been set free in honour of the new king, and many vagabonds and outlaws from all parts of the country had thronged up to London to join in the merry-making of the coronation day), that Ranulf could not quell the tumult, and peace was not restored till next day, when Richard punished some of the ringleaders and proclaimed peace for the Jews. But as soon as he left the country the hatred and greed of the people broke out afresh against them. At the great fair at Lynn, a rich trading town, a quarrel between a converted Jew and his kinsfolk brought on a massacre. At Stamford, where many zealous crusaders had gathered at Lent for their journey abroad, the Jewry was plundered. At Lincoln the Jews only saved their lives by fleeing to the castle. In York they also took refuge with their treasures in the keep, and fearing treachery, refused to let in even the governor. He therefore ordered the castle to be beset, and a furious mob of crusaders, apprentices, and country-folk, headed by a hermit and a reckless fellow named Richard Ill-Beast, assaulted it for several days, shouting continually, "Down with the foes of the Lord!" The despairing Jews kept them off with stones which they tore from the inside of the building, for they had no weapons; but when the war-engines were brought up one night and set ready for next morning's attack they knew that they could hold out no longer. Then Rabbi Eliezer, a learned elder, said to his brethren, "O men of Israel, God—of whom no man asketh, Why doest Thou this?—hath commanded us to lay down our lives for His Law, and behold Death standeth at the door. Now therefore, unless ye would

meet that which is worse than death and give up His Holy Law, let us freely with our own hands offer up our lives to God that gave them, as many of our people have done in times past, worthily delivering themselves out of great tribulations." The greater part took his advice, and having burned or destroyed their treasures and goods and set fire to the castle, they first put all the women and children among them to death and then slew themselves. Next morning the few who had not been willing to die, opened the gates, and came forth begging to be baptized, but the wicked Richard Ill-Beast and his followers slew them all in cold blood. They then destroyed all the bonds of the Jews which were kept in the cathedral, and fearing the king's anger, scattered hastily, some going on the Crusade, some flying to Scotland, so that when the Justiciar came to punish them the guilty ringleaders could not be found, and he was only able to turn out the sheriff and fine the town.

3. In August Richard left Marseilles in his galley *Trenche-*
Mer and coasted down to Messina, whither
 Philip had already marched by land. The
 English fleet of 100 sail, which had been sent
 round from Dartmouth and had stopped at Lisbon on its
 way, to help King Sancho of Portugal against an invasion of
 the Moors, was awaiting him there. Having sent on a strong
 force under Henry, Earl of Champagne, Richard's nephew,
 and Ranulf of Glanville to the Holy Land, the two kings re-
 solved to winter in Sicily. But troubles soon broke out. The
 people of Messina ill-treating and insulting his men, Richard
 hanged the evil-doers and stormed the city, building a
 large wooden castle, which he called *Mate-Griffon* or *Greek-*
tamer [the Greek-speaking Italians being called Greeks by
 the crusaders]. He also sent to King Tancred of Sicily,
 who had succeeded his brother-in-law William the Good, to
 ask him to give up his widowed sister Joan, her dowry and
 the legacy of the late king—a golden table with 24 golden
 cups and platters, a silk tent, and 100 galleys laden with
 60,000 measures of wine and a like quantity of wheat and
 barley. Tancred, frightened at the loss of his town, paid
 Richard 40,000 ounces of gold in place of the dowry and
 legacy, and got his promise to help him against the emperor,
 who claimed Sicily against him. The lavish bounty and
 soldierly bearing of the English king won him great honour,
 and Philip could ill brook to be held of less account than his
 vassal, so when he found that Richard did not mean to
 marry his sister Alice, to whom he had been long betrothed,

Richard's
 Crusade
 1191-1192.

but was about to wed Berengar, the sister of the King of Navarre, he was not easily appeased. But by the good offices of the Earl of Flanders the two kings were for a time reconciled, and Philip started for Acre March 30, 1191. Richard, having sent home his last commands by his mother Eleanor, who had come out to Messina to bring him the Lady Berengar and 30 store-ships, soon followed. Near Cyprus his fleet was overtaken by a storm and two vessels driven ashore, when Isaac, emperor of the island, seized the cargoes and imprisoned the shipwrecked crews. Richard at once landed and stormed *Limasol*. He was now joined by Guy, King of Jerusalem, who had come from Palestine to meet him, and held his wedding on May 12 in grand state. He then won the rest of the island, taking Isaac prisoner and sending him in silver chains to Tripoli, and set sail again.

On the afternoon of the 7th of June a huge *dromond* [big merchant ship] was spied under French colours, but when they came up with her she was found to be a Saracen vessel laden with arms and treasure for the besieged Mahommedans in Acre. Threatening to hang his sailors if they let her get away, Richard led the attack with the *Trenche-Mer*. The Saracens drove off the boarders with their arrows and Greek fire, but the dromond's huge sides were soon pierced by the sharp prows of the nimble English war-galleys and she sank with all her rich cargo, only 46 of her crew of 1500 men being picked up by the king's boats.

Next day Richard reached Acre, which was then in the hands of the Saracens, who were defending it against the kings of France and Jerusalem. He at once blockaded the port with his fleet, and putting up his castle Mate-Griffon, began to set up large and powerful *mangonels* or slinging-engines and *stone-casters*, for he was a skilled engineer, while his sappers plied their spades and picks against the foundations of the walls. Though ill of the ague, from which he often suffered, he was carried in a litter to the trenches, and used his arblast against the Mahommedans on the ramparts, egging on his soldiers the while with promises of reward and overlooking the working of his engines. The King of France also played his part as a brave leader, and on July 12 the besieged gave up the town on condition of being exchanged for the Christians taken at Tiberias. It was now that Leopold, Duke of Austria (who had come with the German crusaders to Palestine following the Emperor Frederick, who had been drowned on the way), quarrelled with the English king because his banner

had been insultingly thrown down from the tower on which it had been raised when the Christians entered the city. A fierce contest also arose about the crown of Jerusalem, which Philip wished to be given to Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, while Richard swore that it should not be taken from his friend Guy, who had hitherto borne it in right of the heiress his wife, now lately dead. The French king, disgusted, left his army, and after taking an oath not to do anything to Richard's hurt till he came back, sailed for France, July 31.

Saladin the Turkish Sultan would not agree to the terms of the surrender, but slew all his Christian prisoners; so Richard did the like, and made ready to go up to retake Jerusalem, though the plague, which was raging at Acre and had killed Ranulf of Glanville and many other noblemen, had terribly thinned his army. On the march down the coast Richard was attacked by the Saracens and gained a battle at *Arsouf*, September 7, and won another on his way to Jerusalem, November 6. He reached Ramla, but was foolishly advised to fall back to Ascalon in January 1192. All now agreed to make Conrad King of Jerusalem, but the Old Man of the Mountain, who ruled in Lebanon, shortly sent two of his *Assassins* to slay him because he had offended him; so Henry, Earl of Champagne, was chosen to succeed him, and Richard gave Guy the realm of Cyprus in exchange. In June the king again marched on Jerusalem and got as far as *Beit-nuba*, when hearing that a caravan sent by Saladin from Cairo with provisions and arms was on the way to Jerusalem, he fell upon its armed guard of 11,000 men with 5000 of his chosen troops, put most of them to the sword, and won a great booty, besides 3000 camels and 4000 packhorses and mules. But the French crusaders would go no farther lest it should be said that an English king recovered the Holy Sepulchre. Richard was sorely grieved at failing so near the goal, and when one of his knights begged him to come to a part of the camp whence he could see Jerusalem, he snapped the switch he held in his hand in twain and cast his surcoat over his head, praying with angry tears, "O Lord God, suffer not mine eyes to behold Thy Holy City, since Thou wilt not suffer me to deliver it out of the hands of Thine enemies." When he got back to the coast he fell ill again, after driving Saladin from before *Joppa*; but by the goodwill of the Sultan's brother Safeddin a truce for three years, three months, three days, and three hours was made with the Saracens, during which time trade was to go on peacefully and the Christians were to be free to

visit Jerusalem and the holy places. Richard feeling that he could do no more for the Cross, and having bad news from England, left Acre October 8. His fleet got back safely, but he landed at Ragusa, meaning to pass through Germany in disguise with a few followers, and was seized near Vienna by his old foe the Austrian duke, and sold to the emperor, who put him in chains, charging him with murdering his kinsman Conrad, taking Cyprus from his ally Isaac, insulting his vassal Leopold, and helping his enemy Tancred.

4. Meanwhile things had not gone smoothly in England. The Justiciar, though a faithful minister, offended the English barons by his foreign ways, new officers, and proud behaviour; for he went about with a train of 1500 men, kept a band of minstrels, and was waited upon by nobles and gentlemen like a prince. When he tried to replace the castellan of Lincoln by one of his own men, English affairs, 1191-1194. Earl John took up arms against him, and though peace was patched up at a council at Winchester, on the understanding that he should support John's claims to the crown (for Richard's health was not very good), it did not last long. For William's soldiers seized Archbishop Geoffrey from before the altar at Dover Church and haled him to prison bareheaded through the muddy streets. The earl of course took up his brother's cause, called a Great Council at London, where he was the favourite of the people, and though the Justiciar held out bravely for some time in the Tower, forced him to yield, changed the ministry, and banished him from the realm. He fled to Dover and tried to escape from the people in the disguise of a cloth-wife, but he was found out, mobbed and plundered before he could get away. Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, who brought letters from the king bidding him, if need were, take his place, now became Justiciar. Both sides used excommunication, till the Pope and Queen Eleanor, just returned from Sicily, stopped the quarrel. Philip, who was back in France, full of rage against Richard, tried to win over Earl John; but Eleanor interposed, and the French nobles would not follow their king in an invasion of Normandy. The powerful Hugh of Puiset and Archbishop Geoffrey now fell out and gave great trouble, while a rebellion arose in Aquitaine, and William of Ely came back suddenly to England, having bought John's consent. The ministers were hard pressed, they gave John a higher bribe to banish William, and when the captivity of Richard was known and

the traitor earl went over to Philip promising to marry his sister Alice if he would help him to win the crown, they withstood him like men, garrisoning the seaports and coasts so that the French and Flemings and others who had promised the earl their help dare not attack England. The Earl of Leicester and the burgesses of Rouen held their own against Philip in Normandy.

Richard was tried at a Great Council at *Haguenau* after Easter 1193, where he spoke well and boldly, and cleared himself of all the charges against him. His ransom was fixed at 150,000 marks, and he wrote home to beg his ministers to gather it as soon as possible, for he wished to get back to his dominions. So they taxed every man, clerk or lay, one-fourth of his year's rents and his movables, levied 20s. from every *knight's fee*, and took the year's wool from the Cistercian and Sempringham monks, whose riches lay in herds of sheep; even the silver chalices were taken from the churches in many places to make up the sum.

About this time Richard, who whiled away his prison hours by making poetry, sent this ballad to his favourite sister, Joan, who with his wife Berengar had shared all his perils in the Holy Land :—

“ Never can captive make a song so fair
As he can make that has no cause for care,
Yet may he strive by song his grief to cheer.
I lack not friends, but sadly lack their gold !

Shamed are they, if unransomed I lie here : a second Yule in hold.

My men and barons all, full well they know,
Poitevins, English, Normans, Gascons too,
That I have not one friend, however poor,
Whom I would leave in chains to save my gold.

I tell them this, but blame them not therefor : though I lie yet in hold.

True is the saying, as I have proved herein,
Dead men and prisoners have no friends, no kin—
But if they leave me here to save their gold,
’Tis ill for me, but worse for them, I fear,

That when I die reproach and blame shall hear : if I be left in hold.

Small marvel if my heart knows heaviness
When my Lord [Philip] puts my land to such distress.
If he remembered what we swore of old,
The oath we took at Sens between us twain,

I know full well that I should not remain : many days here in hold.

Sister and Countess ! God give you good cheer !
And keep my Lady, whom I love so dear : for whom I lie in hold.”

In December, by counsel of his mother (who was of the greatest help at this time by her wise advice), Richard gave up his kingdom to the Emperor Henry, handing him his cap as a sign of surrender. And the emperor gave him it back along with a new fief, the kingdom of Burgundy, by the token of a double cross of gold, on condition of his doing homage for both realms and paying a yearly rent of £5000. Philip, who had tried in vain to get the Danish king to invade England, and John, who met a stout resistance from his mother, did all they could to persuade Henry to detain Richard; but the German princes, the Pope, and the other Christian powers were indignant at the ill-usage which the champion of the Cross had suffered, and he was set free.

5. Landing at Sandwich in his galley *Trenche-Mer*, 20th March 1194, Richard at once marched to Nottingham, which was in the hands of John's partisans, took it and held a Great Council there, at which the earl and his friends were declared to have forfeited their lands and summoned to trial for treason, and a heavy taxation, 2s. from every *plough-land* of 120 acres, and a third of the rent of every knight's fee [£20], levied for that part of the ransom that was still unpaid. The king was then crowned again at Winchester, to wash off the stain of his captivity, and giving the realm to the charge of the Justiciar, Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, nephew of Ranulf Glanville, left England for the last time. When he got to Normandy his brother came to him to beg his forgiveness, and he forgave him at the prayer of his mother. The French and English kings were now at open war, "playing at castle-taking," as the chronicler says, till a defeat at *Frette-Val*, July 15, where Philip hardly escaped with the loss of all the records of France, which always travelled with him, brought on a truce.

The end of
Richard's reign,
1194-1199.

While Richard was away the Justiciar William had given a fresh charter to the city of London, empowering the *burghers* [householders] to choose their own port-reeve, who was now called *mayor*, and to *assess* the taxes and city-rent themselves. Now that large sums had to be paid to meet the king's needs, the householders, to spare their own purses, made the poor craftsmen and labourers, who had no vote at the *husting* [householders' Moot], which governed the city, pay all. Whereon there arose a certain lawyer, well known for his gallant behaviour in the Crusade, William Long-Beard, the son of Osbert, who, burning with zeal for righteousness and fair-play, made himself the champion of the

poor, holding that every man, poor or rich, should pay his share of the city's burdens according to his means. Fifteen thousand men soon banded themselves by oath to him, and he laid their grievances before the king, who was not unfavourable to his views. But the Justiciar Hubert and the aldermen were frightened at this league, and at William's bold speeches at public meetings, and tried to arrest him; but he seized an axe from one of his assailants and slew him, and fled with a few friends to S. Mary-le-Bow Church for *sanctuary*, for no man could be lawfully arrested in such holy places. The Justiciar, however, set fire to the church and he was forced to sally out, when the son of the man he had slain stabbed him at the door, and he was seized, tried at the Tower, condemned, dragged thence half dead on a hide to the gallows at the Elms, and hanged there the same day with nine of his followers. But the people honoured him as a martyr for freedom and right, and the Justiciar was charged with causing bloodshed in a church.

In 1197 Richard's troubles in Aquitaine were ended by the marriage of his sister Joan to Raymond of S. Giles, and he got the help of the Earls of Flanders and Champagne against Philip. The Bretons too, though they would not give him charge of their young Duke Arthur, his nephew, were willing to support him in arms. Several battles were fought before a truce was made. In one of these Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, was taken prisoner. The Pope wrote bidding Richard let him go free, but the king sent back the blood-stained coat of mail in which the bishop had fought, with the words, "Know now whether this be thy son's coat or no," whereby the Pope, seeing that the bishop had broken the Church Law which forbade the clergy to bear arms, took his part no more. While the truce lasted Richard busied himself with building a splendid fortress on the Rock of Andelys by Seine, to stop the French invasions. It was better planned and stronger than any other castle, and when it was finished within twelve months, the king cried, "Is not this a fine saucy year-old baby of mine?" Whence it is still called Château Gaillard [Saucy Castle].

Wars and castle-building are, however, costly, and Hubert was obliged to call a council at Oxford 1198, and ask the English bishops and barons to furnish the king with 300 knights and their keep for a year, for his French war. Most assented, but Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, stood up and said, "Ye know well. my lords, that I am a stranger in

this land, one called from the plain life of a hermit to be bishop. But when Our Lady's Church of Lincoln was given into my unskilled hands, I set about learning what its rights and burdens were, and these thirteen years I have walked in all the ways of my forerunners. I know very well that this church is bound to furnish knights for the king's service in England, but not for service abroad. And I will go back at once to my old hermit's life rather than lay fresh burdens on this bishopric committed to my charge." This speech, from such a holy man, led to the withdrawal of Hubert's plan; but a fresh survey of England was taken by the oaths of juries before two commissioners in each county to find out how much tilled land there was, and a tax of five shillings was laid on every *carucate* [100 acres of plough-land]. The monks would not pay it, however, till the king ordered that no monk should be able to go to law against any layman who had wronged him till he paid the tax. The Pope's displeasure and the charges made against Hubert on all hands led to his being replaced by Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, 1198.

6. A fresh war with Philip led to a fresh truce in 1199. Soon after the "weathercock Poitevins," always rebellious, rose against Richard, who went south to quell the rising, where he heard that Widomar, Viscount of Limoges, had found on one of his farms a large golden chess-table with gold pieces. He claimed this *treasure-trove* as suzerain, but Widomar would not give it up, so the king beset his castle of *Chaluz* and stormed the *ballium*. But a few men held out in the keep, one of whom shot the king in the breast with a quarrel [arblast-arrow], and the bad surgery of his doctor made the wound mortify. Knowing that he must die, Richard, when the keep was taken, ordered the crossbowman to be brought before him. "What have I done to thee that thou shouldest slay me?" "Thou hast slain my father and two of my brothers with thine own hand," answered the man boldly. "Torture me as thou wilt, I shall die gladly since I have slain him who hath done so much ill." "Well, I forgive thee my death," said Richard, and bade his captain Mercade give the man money and let him go. Then the king made his barons swear fealty to John, whom he named heir of his kingdom, gave his jewels to his nephew Otho, Earl of Poitou (whom he had caused to be chosen emperor in 1198), and left a quarter of his treasure to his servants and the poor. On the 6th April he died, and Mercade, by the Countess Joan's orders, put his slayer to an evil death. The king's heart was buried at

Richard's death
and character.

Rouen, and Hugh of Lincoln, his friend, laid his body at the feet of his father at Font-Evraud.

Richard was tall, stalwart, and handsome, fair-haired and blue-eyed. No mean general, a skilful engineer, and a wise judge of men, he might have made a good king, but contented himself with being a good knight. Of reckless bravery, he would peril his life for the sake of adventure, as when he fought with a mob of peasants about a hawk in Italy, and in the Holy Land his place was ever in the foremost trench at sieges and the first ranks in battle. Many tales were told of his prowess, how, mounted on his favourite Cyprus Chestnut (killed under him at Jaffa), with his mighty axe or great spear in hand, he led the charge into the midst of the Turkish horse-archers, and even fought hand to hand with Saladin himself. The famous French knight, William of Barre, is said to have been the only man he ever found to match him. Fond of show and pleasure, and a poet himself, he was bountiful to poets. William Blondel of Nesle, Bertran of Born, who welcomed the king's release from prison with joyous songs, Folquet of Marseille, whom Dante met in Paradise, and the gallant Wacelm Faidit of Avignon, who deeply mourned his patron's death, were his chief favourites. In 1198 a pious priest, Fulk of Neuilly, warned Richard of his faults, bidding him in the Lord's name make haste to marry his wicked daughters. "I have no daughters, thou deceiver!" said Richard. "Nay, thou hast three, whom thou hast cherished too long: Pride, Greed, and Evil-Living are their names." "Then," said the king, "I can match them well. I will give Pride to the proud Templars, Greed to the Cistercian monks, and Evil-Living to certain of my bishops." But in spite of this scoff, he took the warning to heart, and began to lead a better life.

Under Richard the policy and constitution of Henry II. were faithfully carried on in England by the ministers, William, Hubert, and Geoffrey; and the wise counsels of Eleanor saved Normandy and Aquitaine from the designs of Philip and the treachery of John.

CHAPTER III.

John Lackland, 1199-1215.

1. Earl John now sent Archbishop Hubert and William the Marshal to England to help the Justiciar to take charge of the realm. They held a council, and promising on John's behalf to right all wrongs and rule righteously, got the barons and people to swear fealty to him. But the people of Brittany, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine wished Arthur to be king, and his mother Constance, a foolish headstrong woman, gave the boy into Philip's charge, who took up his cause. However, the earl and Queen Eleanor wrested Angers and Maine from the rebels, and on Easter Day John was crowned with the gilt coronet of Normandy by Hugh of Avalon. He then crossed to England, where on Ascension Day, 27th May, before a great gathering, he took the coronation oaths, Hubert adjuring him in the name of God not to dare take the crown unless he had it in his heart to fulfil the promises he had made.

John then went back to Normandy, made peace with the French king, and, in 1200, gave his niece, Blanche of Castile (whom Eleanor, now eighty years old, had herself fetched from Spain to her bridegroom), to the French prince Louis to wife. But in an evil hour John fell in love with Isabel, daughter of the Earl of Angoulesme, who was already espoused to Hugh the Brown of Lusignan, Earl of Marche, and (putting away his own wife, Hawis of Gloster) married her. This match led to a breach with Philip, who took up the earl's quarrel, and, in 1202, sent Arthur (whose mother was now dead) with 200 French knights to help the rebellious Poitevins against the English king. But the old queen, Eleanor, held out in the keep of *Mirabel*, though Hugh and her grandson had taken the bailey, till the 31st of July, when John hurried up to her relief, and driving the besiegers like sheep into the castle-yard took Arthur captive, together with his sister Eleanor the Fair Maid of Brittany, Earl Hugh, and nearly all their knights. Arthur was sent to Falaise and the rest thrown into prison. In 1203 John offered his nephew fair terms if he would promise to be faithful to him, but the angry lad swore that he would never give his uncle a year's peace till he had won England and the rest of Richard's inheritance from him; whereon John, seeing that he could never trust

John loses
Normandy,
1199-1206.

him, sent him to the New Tower at Rouen under close guard. There he died, no man knows how, April 1203, and Philip straightway summoned the English king to be tried for murder before the Peers of France on the accusation of the Bishop of Rennes. But as he would not promise him a safe-conduct there and back, John refusing to risk himself in his enemy's power, was tried in his absence, found guilty of treason and felony, and sentenced to lose all his French fiefs. Philip further made ready to carry out the judgment, and invaded Normandy. Trusting in his riches and skill as a general, John now fell into a strange kind of recklessness, sitting still in Rouen with his wife, feasting and making merry, and laughing at the news of Philip's successes, which he boasted he could revenge with interest whenever he had a mind to. In vain the poets tried to rouse the "Shameless King" by their satires.

"Sore must Guienne, in this her evil plight,
Bewail King Richard, who ne'er grudged to spend
His gold and silver freely to defend
The land that this man seems to hold so light.
Feasting and hunting all his thoughts engage,
And hawks and hounds he loves and ease; whereby
He suffers lack of honour, carelessly,
And lets men thrust him from his heritage."

His barons set his behaviour down to cowardice, some in disgust surrendering their castles at Philip's first summons, while most of the English knights went home without leave, for which John, who crossed to England to hold his Yule as Hubert's guest at Canterbury, fined them heavily. But though he raised money and gathered men, his faithful lieges over sea got no help. For nearly a year Roger of Lacy, the Constable of Chester, held the key of Normandy, *The Saucy Castle*, against all the French assaults, but in the spring of 1204 his stores gave out, when, despairing of relief, he tried to cut his way through the besiegers and was taken. Now this great stronghold had fallen, Rouen and the other towns sent a last message to John, telling him that they must surrender in default of instant succour, but he bade them shift for themselves. The old queen, Eleanor, who had saved them before, fell ill and died, 21st March, and so all hope being gone, one by one they were obliged to make terms. By July all Normandy (save the Channel Isles), as well as Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, were in Philip's hands. No real attempt at a rescue was made till 1206, for the English barons and John distrusted each other, when the king sailed

to Rochelle with a large army and took Montauban with his war-engines. But after four months' campaign he agreed to a truce and went back to England. So the heritage of Henry II. was lost for ever, and the Angevin princes forced to rule henceforward as English kings, not merely as kings of England.

2. In 1205 died Hubert, the wise archbishop, whose talents as a soldier and architect had won the favour of Richard, and whose clear state-craft had made him a useful servant to John; while his truthfulness and wisdom gained him the respect of the clergy, who had at first looked on him with distrust; and his generosity and even temper compelled the regard of the people, who had dreaded his stern justice. By his advice the king had hitherto, like his father and brother, treated the Church with a fair tongue and a firm hand, and avoided all cause of trouble. But ere Hubert was buried, the younger party of the monks of Canterbury, who claimed the right of choosing the archbishops, met secretly, named their sub-prior Reginald to the office, and sent him to Rome for the pall. The elder monks, fearing lest their rashness might bring evil on the minister, went to John and agreed to name the man he should wish. John chose one of his ministers, John of Gray, Bishop of Norwich, a man ill-spoken of as "a servant of Mammon and an evil shepherd that devoured his own sheep." Several of the monks were then sent to Rome to beg the Pope to confirm the election. But the bishops, who held that the choice of an archbishop lay with them, not with the monks, appealed to Rome against both claimants. However, Innocent, the most proud and powerful of all the popes, quashed their plea, set aside both Reginald and John as unduly chosen, and made the monks elect his friend, Dr. Stephen Langton, a pious and wise man, whom he consecrated himself at Viterbo, June 1207.

John's quarrel
with the Church,
1207-1213.

The king angrily refused to acknowledge Stephen, drove the monks abroad, and defied the Pope, who, after writing in vain to persuade him to an agreement, on March 23, 1208, laid an *Interdict* on the whole realm. No public service could be held, the churches were closed, and the dead were refused burial in the churchyards while it lasted, so that the people were in sore distress. But the king was the more angry, and sent his officers to seize the goods and land of the Church for his own use, merely leaving the clergy enough for their daily bread. In 1209 Innocent threatened to excommunicate John and cast him out of the pale of the Church;

when most of the bishops, "fearing the king, but daring not obey him for dread of the Pope," fled abroad till these troubles were past.

Still John would not yield. He made good his position in England by ordering his barons to swear fealty to him afresh and give hostages for their loyalty. With the money he wrung from the Church and the Jews (whom he treated cruelly, imprisoning them and torturing them till they ransomed themselves with their treasure) he raised great numbers of hired troops. Marching north in 1209 he compelled William the Lion to do homage and pay a heavy tribute. Next year with a fleet of 500 ships he went to Ireland, which was troubled by the quarrels between the Lacies and Courcy in Ulster, and the lawless behaviour of the outlaws who had fled from England to the Pale, beside the usual Irish wars. By seizing the outlaws, beating the King of Connaught, receiving the oaths of the Irish princes, restoring good laws, and setting good officers in the Pale, he quickly pacified the country, and leaving John of Gray, who, whatever his faults as a churchman, was no mean statesman, as Justiciar, sailed home with his captives in triumph. In 1211 he forced his son-in-law Llewellyn, the Welsh prince, to do homage at Snowdon, and sternly punished all outrages done along the Welsh border.

But now the Pope sent Pandulf, his counsellor, and Durand, a knight of S. John, to make peace between the king and the archbishop, and they gave the king the Pope's message at a great council at *Northampton*. And when he refused to listen to their words, Pandulf, in the Pope's name, declared all John's subjects free from their oaths of fealty to him. Whereon the enemies of John were glad, the Welsh rose again, and the king was afraid to summon his barons together against them, for he knew that Robert Fitz-Walter the Banner-bearer of London and Eustace of Vesci, with many of the northern barons whom he had set against him by his insulting behaviour, were plotting against him. Still the greater part of the nobles, under the leadership of his brother William Longsword Earl of Salisbury, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter the Justiciar, and Hugh Neville the Grand Forester, a brave old crusader who had slain a lion single-handed in the Holy Land, as well as many of the more worldly clergy, such as "Squire Peter" des Roches Bishop of Winchester; and the Bishops of Bath and Durham, held by him; though his chief trust was in his hired troops and their captains—in Fawkes of Breauté with his engineers and Flemish men-at-

arms, and in Gerard of Athyes, Ingelard of Cigognes, Philip Mark, and many more with their Gascon arblast-men and knights. Those conspirators who were unable to get away were speedily thrown into prison, and John set about pleasing the people by laying down good rules for the seaports' trade, and forgiving offenders against the forest law.

3. But the Pope, grieved at the wretched state of England, now gave final sentence that "John should be thrust from his throne, and that another worthier than he should reign in his stead," granting the crown to Philip of France, whom he bade carry out this decree. John had already formed a league with his nephew Otho the Emperor (who had also quarrelled with Innocent), Earl Ferdinand of Flanders, and Reginald Earl of Boulogne against Philip, and both sides gathered their forces. And now John resolved to come to terms with Innocent, believing that if he could only make peace speedily with the Church, he might crush his rival and win back all he had lost. He was also afraid of dying excommunicate, and frightened at the prophecy of Peter the Wise the Wakefield Hermit who had foretold that he should lose his crown ere next Ascension Day. Accordingly on May 15th, at *Ewell*, near Dover, where he was lying with a huge host, he received Pandulf, and by advice of his barons agreed to all Innocent's demands, promising to receive Stephen and make good to the clergy all the damage they had undergone. Moreover, he gave up his kingdom to the Pope, taking it back as a fief, for which he was to pay homage and a yearly rent of 1000 marks.

John becomes
the Pope's vassal,
May 15, 1213.

Before the Pope's absolution could arrive William Longsword and the Earl of Boulogne attacked the French fleet lying at *Damme*, ready to invade England, took 300 ships and all the stores, and burned the rest, so putting an end to Philip's carefully-laid plans. However, the English nobles, ill-pleased at the behaviour of John's ministers and hired soldiers, and worn down by the heavy taxes which he laid upon them, refused under different excuses to go with him to France to follow up this splendid success.

In July Stephen landed and absolved the king at Winchester, giving him the coronation oaths again. He also persuaded him not to punish the disobedient northern barons, while at *S. Albans* (4th August) Geoffrey the Justiciar promised that the laws of King Henry I. should be kept henceforward and all injustices swept away. On the 25th August the archbishop read the charter of Henry I.

to a gathering of barons at *S. Paul's*, telling them that if they stood by it they would soon win back all the rights they had let drop, and promising to help them. They were pleased with his words, and swore to stand by their rights to the death, and Geoffrey laid their wishes before the king. A council was then called at Oxford, to which not only those barons and knights who held their lands directly of the king were to come, but also four gentlemen chosen from each county to talk with him about the needs and business of the country. Soon after this died the Justiciar, "a most steadfast pillar of the realm, a man of high birth, well skilled in the law, rich, and of great possessions, and knit to the greatest nobles in England by blood or friendship, wherefore the king feared him above all other men, and he was able to hold the reins of the realm." When John heard of his faithful servant's death he laughed, and said with an oath, "Let him greet his friend Hubert in hell, for now they are both gone, I am for the first time king indeed!" and he gave the justiciarship to his favourite, "Squire Peter." For the time the nobles were uncertain what to do, and the clergy were divided; for when the legate Nicolas came in November to take off the Interdict and receive the king's homage, he filled the vacant sees and abbacies with the king's friends, and took the king's part against Archbishop Stephen.

So, though his barons were still stubborn, John gathered a great hired force and sailed to La Rochelle early in 1214, meaning to put down a rebellion in Poitou and attack Philip from the west, while his nephew the Emperor Otho, the Flemish earls, and William Longsword should invade France on the east. John was successful on his side, and Prince Louis retreated before him. On the east the allies marched as far as the bridge of *Bovines*, where Philip met them with his knights and the militia levies, a fine body of footmen, who had marched up from the towns and villages under their parish priests. He pitched his camp for the night, barricading his front with baggage and waggons. Next morning, Sunday, July 27, Earl Reginald and Otho were unwilling to attack; but they were overruled, and the allied army was drawn up for battle in three divisions. In the first were the English and Flemings under the Earls of Salisbury, Flanders, and Boulogne; in the second the Brabanters led by Hugh of Boves, and the Hollanders by their duke William; and in the third the Germans under the Emperor himself. The earls led the attack and pressed on

hotly, fighting their way through the barricade to the French king, who was struck down and all but slain by Earl Reginald; but the French militia swarmed round them, and after a hard fight they were cut off and made prisoners, the Bishop of Beauvais striking down and seizing William of Salisbury with his own hand. Philip and his knights then pushed on in triumph, routed Duke William and Hugh, driving them from the field, and fell with all their force upon the third division of the allied army. But though he had three horses killed under him, Otho scorned to surrender, and laid about him so fiercely with his sharp two-handed sword that at length the French gave up the attack and let him withdraw his troops in good order. This defeat led to Otho's fall, and forced John to make a hasty peace with Philip and go back to England baffled and exhausted to face his discontented subjects.

4. The northern barons and the archbishop saw that their time was come, and meeting at *S. Edmund's Minster*, November 20, under the colour of a pilgrimage, the nobles swore at the high altar to throw off their allegiance and take up arms unless the king pledged himself to allow their rights in a charter under seal; agreeing to present their terms to him at Christmas, and meanwhile to furnish themselves with horses and arms. When John heard their request at Christmas, he was afraid, and asked them to wait till Easter, for the matter was weighty, and they agreed to this. Meanwhile he busied himself in trying to win over the clergy by granting them free right to choose their own bishops, and to check the barons by asking them to swear fresh oaths of allegiance, and by taking the Cross, which would shelter him from armed attack; he also prayed the Pope to help his faithful vassal. But all availed nothing, at Easter the northern league and the archbishop, who were now joined by most of the other English nobles, met at *Stamford*, March 19, in number 2000 armed knights, besides men-at-arms and foot-soldiers in great force, and sent to John at Oxford a list of Articles which they wished him to sign. But he refused with an angry oath. "These Articles are pure foolishness! Why do they not ask me for the kingdom at once? I will never give them such freedom as would make me their slave!"

Thus rebuffed, the barons flew to arms, and having chosen Robert Fitz-Walter as general, naming him "Marshal of the Host of God and Holy Church" marched to London, where

The Great
Charter,
June 15, 1215.

the burgesses gladly received them, May 24. Hence they wrote to William the Marshal, William Longsword, Randolph Earl of Chester, the Earls of Warrenne, Albemarle, and Cornwall, Hugh Neville, and the other ministers who still held by the king, bidding them join them at once unless they wished to be treated as foes. Their summons was quickly obeyed, and John found himself alone with his hired soldiers against the whole English baronage. He could not but yield, and on June 15 he met the barons at *Runnymede*, between Staines and Windsor, and sealed the *Great Charter of the Liberties of England*.

By this Charter, founded upon that of Henry I. and sworn to by the king and the whole of the prelates and barons—

a. The full rights and liberties of the Church are acknowledged.

b. The feudal rights of the king over his vassals, and of these vassals over their tenants, are limited and settled.

c. No scutage or aid (save for the ransom of the king, the knighting of his eldest son, and the first marriage of his eldest daughter) is to be levied save by the Common Council of the realm, specially called, by separate writs [letters] to the bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, and general writs through the sheriffs and bailiffs to all who held directly of the king.

The free rights of London and the other chartered towns are allowed.

d. The harsh law of debts to the king and the Jews is made milder.

A court of Common Pleas [cases between subjects] is fixed at Westminster.

Cases touching the ownership of land are to be tried in the counties by the justices in eyre.

Vexatious appeals are forbidden, and the conduct and appointment of the king's judges, sheriffs, and officers strictly regulated.

No free man is to be taken, imprisoned, ousted of his land, outlawed, banished, or hurt in any way save by the judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

No free man is to be fined beyond his offence or means or without trial.

Englishmen and foreigners are to have free right to pass in and out of England in time of peace.

The king is neither to sell, put off, or deny right or justice to any one.

e. An inquiry into the Forest Laws is promised.

The foreign soldiers, Gerard of Athyes, Ingelard of Cigognes, and all the gang that came with horses and arms to the hurt of the realm, are to be sent out of the country.

Right is to be done to Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and Alexander, King of Scots, who had sided with the barons.

All past illwill and offences arising from the struggle are forgiven.

In a supplementary document, called *Securitas Pacis*, twenty-five Sworn Guardians chosen from among the barons were appointed to watch over the keeping of the Charter, being empowered to demand the instant putting right of any breach of its articles, and, in default, allowed to make war on the king till the matter should be settled to their pleasure.

The Twenty-five chosen were *seven earls*—Clare, Albemarle, Gloster,

Winchester, Hereford, Norfolk, and Oxford; the chief of the *younger barons*—Robert Fitz-Walter, Gilbert Clare, Hugh Bigod, John Fitz-Robert, William Mallet, and William, son of the Marshal; Eustace of Vescei, and four other *northern barons*—Percy, Mowbray, Ros, and Lacy; the *Mayor* of London, and *the lords* of Lanvalay, Say, Mumbazon, Huntingfield, Montfichet, and Albiney.

This great table of laws, won by the people of England from a tyrannous king, was the first Act which laid down in black and white the main points of the Constitution and the several rights and duties of king and people.

5. John never meant to abide by the Charter, but his rage at having been forced to yield was terrible. He at once sent over the sea for more hired troops, and wrote secretly to bid Fawkes and Philip Mark, and the other foreign captains, to whom he chiefly trusted, to store and arm the castles they still held for him against their coming. He also appealed to the Pope against the Charter as won by force and against the overlord's interests.

Wretched end
of John's reign,
1215-1216.

Innocent warmly took his part, ordered Archbishop Stephen to Rome, freed John from his oaths, and threatened to excommunicate the barons if they persisted in rebellion.

Soon bands of hired soldiers, thirsty for blood and gold, and caring little for aught else, came flocking to the royal banner. There were Savary of Mauleon the poet-baron and his Poitevin knights, Walter Buck and his Brabanters, Godshalk of Saxony with his crossbowmen; and many more, though the cruel Hugh of Boves, with a whole colony of Flemings, to whom the king had given Norfolk and Suffolk to dwell in, were shipwrecked and drowned to the great joy of the East English.

Thoroughly roused, John showed skill and quickness, seized Rochester, while the barons lay feasting and jousting at London, and hurried north with William of Albemarle and Godshalk to drive Alexander King of Scots from Northumberland, which the barons had promised him, and to lay waste the northern rebels' lands, leaving Fawkes, Savary, and Walter Buck to watch London. Burning, plundering, and wasting all before him, John reached Berwick and took it, swearing he would drive the red fox [Alexander] from his earth, then turned south again. Fawkes meanwhile harried the midlands, and the barons made raids on the home counties to get food and stores for their needs. Wherever the troops came the country-folk fled, for the Flemings slew the poor—men, women, and children—and tortured the rich to make them give up their money, while some of the English nobles,

reckless under the Pope's ban and the fear of John's vengeance, behaved little better.

In despair the barons, March 1216, offered the crown to Louis the French prince, who in spite of the commands of Walo, the Pope's legate, landed at Stonor, May 21. John broke up his camp at Dover, for fear of treachery from his foreign hirelings, and leaving Hubert of Burgh (a good and true knight who had been his seneschal in Poitou) to keep the castle, retreated westward. Louis was joyfully welcomed to London, where the barons paid him homage. He was shortly joined by many Flemish deserters, by the King of Scots, and not a few who had hitherto held with John—Hugh Neville, the Earls of Warrenne and Arundel, and even William Longsword; and Lynn, York, Lincoln, Cambridge, and Winchester yielded to him. But Windsor held out, 1000 Sussex yeomen under Wilkin the Archer took to the woods and harassed his army, the Cinque Ports' fleet burned his ships, and he could not win Dover; nay, when William Longsword came to the gate and told Hubert that Louis had sworn to hang his brother Thomas de Burgh (whom he had captured) unless he yielded, the stout castellan rebuked the earl as traitor to his king and kinsman, and threatened to shoot him if he said more. In September, having got help from the Welsh border, where he had ruled best, John marched swiftly across the midlands, resolved to bring matters to a speedy issue, retook Lynn and Lincoln (where he was well-liked by the merchants and sailors), and set out for London. As they crossed the Wash, by some ill-hap his baggage and treasure were swallowed in a quicksand. The king himself having narrowly escaped, fell ill at Swineshead Abbey (where he lay next night, October 12), whether of poison, as some say, or, as others think, of grief and rage at his loss. Still he pressed on, and paying no heed to his health, but gorging himself with peaches and new cider, he grew worse and worse, and died at Newark, October 19, bequeathing his soul to God and his body to S. Wulfstan, in whose minster at Worcester it was honourably buried.

John had all the vices, most of the talent, and none of the virtues of his family. Handsome, well-made, and graceful, of fair speech and winning manner when he wished to please, he had the gift of binding men and women to him, so that none whom he trusted ever betrayed him though his cold-hearted ungratefulness was known to all. He led a foul and shameless life, was hatefully cruel, torturing his

prisoners (even women and children), faithless to word and bond, treacherous to his best friends or closest kin; for he regarded neither honour, love, or duty where they would thwart his pride or passion. Well-read, well-trained, a good general, a cunning statesman, knowing how to profit by men's weaknesses, succeeding to a united realm and a body of capable servants, with a successful policy clearly marked out for him, an honest man with half his brains might have ruled gloriously, but John's wicked selfishness met its due reward, and in spite of his well-laid plans and mighty power, he was forced to humble himself to the Pope, whom he scorned and defied, to the rival whom he loathed and despised, and to the subjects whom he had insulted and betrayed.

CHAPTER IV.

Henry III. of Winchester, 1216-1272.

1. William the Marshal, with the Earls of Chester and Derby, Savary, Fawkes, and the foreign captains, by the advice of Bishop Peter and Walo the Pope's legate (who had come to England to help John against Louis), now had Henry, John's eldest son, a child of nine years, crowned at the King's Hall in Gloster, October 28. William was made *warden of the king and kingdom*, and a council was summoned at Bristol, where the Great Charter, save a few articles left for future settlement, was confirmed by the king and legate. Few of the English barons who had hated John bore illwill to his child, and many feared Louis' rule. It was said that the Viscount of Melun, a French noble who had lately died in London, had revealed on his deathbed to those about him an oath taken by Louis and sixteen of his barons to banish all the English nobles who had left their king, as unworthy of trust. When it was seen that earldoms and castles were being bestowed on foreigners, and that Englishmen's rights were passed over, this story was believed. So on Louis going to France for a little while to gather fresh troops, the Earls of Salisbury, Warrenne, Arundel, with others came and did homage to Henry. When the prince came back he sent the Earl of Perche, the best young knight in Christendom, and Robert Fitz-Walter,

with 3 earls, 500 knights, and 20,000 footmen, all greedy for plunder, to beset Lincoln Castle, which Nicola of Camville still held for Henry. They took up their quarters in the town, and set to work to batter the fortress with their stone-casters and great war-slings. William the Marshal, Randolph of Chester, and the renowned Fawkes with 400 knights

Louis is obliged
to leave Eng-
land, 1217.

and 250 crossbowmen, hurried up to relieve it, and Walo laid the Pope's ban on Louis and all his partisans. When the king's army drew nigh Robert Fitz-Walter wished to fight them outside the city, but the Earl of Perche would not listen to him, and merely closing the gates, went on with the siege. The Marshal and his knights attacked the north gate, but Nicola secretly let Fawkes and his crossbowmen into the castle. The barons were surprised by a shower of cross-bow bolts, from the walls, which laid many of them low, and killed their horses like swine. Before they could rally Fawkes made a furious sally upon them, while the Marshal, who had forced the town gate, attacked them in the rear. Cooped up in the narrow streets between two foes, the English barons, seeing no hope of escape or victory, gave up their swords; but the Earl of Perche swore he would never surrender to a traitor Englishman, and fought till the Earl Marshal slew him with his own hand. The rest of the Frenchmen now fled, but few escaped the vengeance of the English peasants, who killed all they could find. Fawkes and his men, encouraged by the legate to punish the disobedient clergy who had sided with the barons, plundered town and cathedral, and so great was their easily-won booty that the battle was long known as the *Fair of Lincoln*.

Louis now left Dover, which he was again besieging, and fell back on London to await the fleet which his faithful wife, Blanche, had equipped with stores and 300 knights to help him. As soon as Hubert de Burgh, whom John had made Justiciar before he died, heard that the fleet had sailed, he sent to Bishop Peter saying, "If this host land the realm is lost. Let us meet them at sea, for the Lord is with us, and they are under His ban!" But Peter answered, "We are not sailors or fishermen. Go yourself and die." Hubert hastily got together about forty vessels from the Cinque Ports, and put to sea on S. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, with Richard, a base son of King John, the faithful Philip of Albiney with his crossbowmen, and a few more brave knights. Before he went on board he was shriven by his chaplain Luke, and gave solemn charge to those he left to

keep Dover. "I beseech you, by our Lord's blood, if I be taken, to let them hang me before your eyes rather than give up this castle to any Frenchman, for it is the key of England." He held towards Calais till he got the weather-gauge of the French fleet, not far from *Sandwich*, when he bore down on them, though they were at least eighty sail, as fast as a fair breeze could take him. The English were quickly within range, and began to shower arrows and cast quicklime down the wind into their enemies' faces, while they, shooting against the wind, could do little hurt. When they got alongside the French ships, Hubert bade his men board the enemy and cut away their rigging and sheets, so that masts, sails, and yards soon came rattling down about the Frenchmen's ears, and, caught like birds in a net, they were easily overcome. Hubert gave them all quarter save their commander Eustace the Monk, a famous pirate who had once been in John's service but had deserted him. He offered a great sum for his life, but Richard Fitz-John said, "Thou wicked traitor, thou shalt deceive no man again with thy false words!" and cut off his head. When Hubert sailed into Dover harbour, towing the French ships behind him, the people and clergy met him with crosses and banners, singing psalms and praising God for this wonderful victory; but Louis was more grieved at the news than he had been for his loss at Lincoln, for his last hope of succour was gone.

The Marshal now blockaded London, and the French prince willingly came to terms with him and Walo, who earnestly wished to be rid of him. By the treaty of *Lambeth*, September 11, Louis promised to give up all the lands that he or his had won in England, to go to France with his men, never to come back as a foe, and to try and make his father give up the lands he had seized from John. He also swore obedience to the Pope before the legate. The king, the Marshal, and Walo agreed to set free all prisoners, and give the barons back their lands and all the liberties laid down in the charter. Henry further gave Louis 1000 marks for his pains, and he in all good love went home to France.

Walo now punished the clergy who had disobeyed the Pope's orders, making some pay heavy fines, and taking others' benefices away to give to his own followers. The Marshal had the Charter confirmed again with some new articles—

Forbidding wrongful grants of land by under tenants to monks' houses or others.

Ordering the regular holding of county courts, sheriffs' towns, and judges' circuits.

Commanding castles built without royal leave to be at once pulled down.

He further put forth the *Forest Charter* promised by John, which—

Declares that henceforth no man shall lose life or limb for the king's venison, but be fined or banished for breach of the forest law.

Forbids the unlawful taxation of the forest officers.

Offers pardon to all outlaws of the forest.

Randulf, Earl of Chester, Robert Fitz-Walter, Saer, Earl of Winchester, Savary, with other barons of both parties went off next year to join the Crusaders in Egypt, where they did valiantly. In the midst of the peace he had won, 1219, full of years and honours, William the Marshal died. Gaining the earldoms of Pembroke and Leicester by his marriage with Isabel, Strongbow's daughter, he had, as the friend and servant of the "young king" and the brothers Richard and John, ever shown skill, courage, and faithfulness; but the statesmanship by which, within a few months, he had ousted the French prince, brought the king and the legate to confirm the charter, and ended a bitter and lengthened civil war, had earned him the thanks of every Englishman.

2. Bishop Peter now took charge of the boy-king, while

**The wise rule of
Hubert of Burgh,
1219-1232.**

Hubert, by the help of Pandulf, who followed Walo as legate, governed the kingdom. He had the greatest trouble with the "king's friends," led by Bishop Peter, many of whom, "having long lived by pillaging their neighbours, could hardly keep their hands from the spoil," and refused to give up the castles and lands trusted to them during the war till Henry should be of age. In 1221 the Earl of Albemarle seized Fotheringay, a castle of Earl Randulf; but Pandulf excommunicated him and his friends, and Hubert took his stronghold Biham, so he sued for peace and forgiveness, which, because of his former good services, were granted him.

In 1222 there was trouble in London. At a wrestling match near the abbey, between the champions of London and Westminster, the abbot's steward, with a band of armed partisans, treacherously set upon the defenceless Londoners who had come out to see the match, and drove them, beaten and wounded, into the city. A meeting was quickly called to settle how this cowardly assault was to be punished. The mayor, Serlo the Mercer, wished to ask the abbot for damages, but Constantine, Ethelwulf's son, a rich and well-

liked burgess, urged that the citizens should turn out in arms and pull down the houses and buildings of the abbot and his steward, and this plan was carried. With shouts of "Mountjoy!" [the French war-cry,] "God help us and our Lord Louis!" Constantine led an armed mob to Westminster, where they destroyed the abbot's palace. As soon as Hubert heard of it, he sent for Fawkes and his soldiers, marched to the Tower, and called on the chief citizens to answer for their treasonable and riotous behaviour. Constantine told him openly, "I take on me what has been done, and it is less than I wished;" whereon he was doomed to death without more ado, and hanged early next morning, with his nephew and Geoffrey his follower, before the citizens could rescue them. The other ringleaders were maimed, the mayor and aldermen changed, and the city fined. However, Louis complained that his friends had been hardly dealt with, and next year, when he became king, not only refused to give up Normandy, but even seized Poitou.

Archbishop Stephen was now come home again, and by his help Hubert determined, in spite of Peter's angry outcry, to make the barons give up the royal castles. He therefore got letters from the Pope (who was very desirous of doing his best for England and for his young vassal) declaring Henry of age, and bidding all who held charge of royal strongholds or lands give them up at once on pain of his curse. Thus outwitted, and fearing Stephen's threats, they came to Northampton, 1223, and one by one gave up charge to the king.

Next year Hubert got rid of Fawkes, who was as troublesome in peace as he was helpful in war. He was found guilty at Dunstable assizes of seizing the lands of thirty-two yeomen at Luton and heavily fined. In his rage he carried off one of the judges, Henry of Braybrook, an old foe of his, and put him in chains in Bedford Castle, under the keeping of his brother, William of Breauté, while he hurried west to try and bring Earl Randulf and others of the king's friends who bore no goodwill to Hubert to rise with him. The judge's wife went to Northampton (where a great council was being held to talk over the Normandy and Poitou business), and with tears prayed for justice before the whole meeting. Putting aside all else, the king and all the council at once set off to Bedford. William of Breauté would neither give up his prisoner nor the castle, saying that he was his brother's vassal, not the king's, and as the fortress was very strong (Fawkes having lately rebuilt it), he was able to hold out two months

in spite of the archbishop's curse and the king's oath to hang the garrison unless they surrendered. But wall after wall fell, sapped by the miners and battered by the engine bullets, and on August 15 the keep was stormed and the judge set free. Fearing lest Bishop Peter, Fawkes' friend, might win the king to break his oath, Hubert had William and twenty-three of his men hanged at once while Henry was at dinner. Fawkes, finding no help, now gave himself up. All his castles and lands were taken away, his wife, an heiress whom he had carried off by force, divorced from him, and he was doomed to banishment. With some money he had managed to save he went to Rome to beg the Pope to speak for him; but when the legate Otho asked Henry to undo the judgments against him, he answered, "Fawkes was fairly tried and sentenced, and I am bound to uphold the law." In 1227, poor and friendless, the once "mighty captain and good friend of John" died of poison at S. Cyriac.

In the same year Henry dismissed Bishop Peter from his office, saying that as he was of age he no longer needed a guardian, and put all his trust in Hubert, whom he made Earl of Kent. But while he took this wise step he was foolish enough to destroy the Forest Charter (as being against his interest and granted while he was under age), and to deny his brother Richard a trial in a dispute about a manor. However, Richard, who had been made Earl of Cornwall and Poitou in 1225, and sent to Gascony, where he had ruled well and defeated the French, was upheld by the nobles, who met in arms under Earl Randulf and William Williamson, the Marshal (who had married the king's sister Eleanor), and forced Henry to do him justice. Hubert always wished for peace, because he knew the risks and cost of war, and saw, from his defeats in the petty Welsh forays, that Henry would never make a good soldier; so when the Gascons and Normans and discontented French barons begged the king to attack France and win back his heritage, he counselled delay. But the satires of Savary and the Southern barons, and the messages of the Earl of Brittany, seem to have stung Henry to act in 1229, and he called a great host together to Portsmouth at Michaelmas. When they came to embark, there were not half enough ships for them. In high displeasure Henry turned on Hubert, "Thou old traitor! the French queen hath bribed thee to upset my plans!" and drew his sword to slay him. But Randulf got the Justiciar out of the room, and the Earl of Brittany told the king that he had better wait till next year to invade France; so his anger was

cooled, and he was reconciled with his minister. Next spring he crossed to Brittany, and marched through Anjou and Poitou to Gascony, where he was blithely welcomed. Still Hubert would not let him risk a battle, so after spending much money to little end, he came home, leaving Randulf and the Marshal, with 5000 knights and 1000 mercenaries, to bring the war to an end, which they did by beating King Louis and settling a truce in 1231.

Pope Gregory was at this time warring against the Emperor Frederick, and he called on all Christians for a tenth of their income to help him. Henry was willing enough, but the barons flatly refused to bind themselves by paying tax to Rome, though the clergy, fearing the Pope's curse, paid it, save on Earl Randulf's estates, for he stood out like a man and forbade his clergy to send a single penny to the Pope. Honorius had formerly offered to hear appeals without fee if he were allowed a certain number of livings in England, which was refused. Yet Gregory went on thrusting Italians into English livings against the law, till in 1231 a number of gentry and clergy banded themselves together under Robert of Twenge (who called himself *William Wither*), and with Hubert's secret approval, forbade tithes to be paid to Rome, and carried off all the rents and corn of Gregory's Italians to give to the poor. The king, however, stopped these doings, and sent Robert to complain to the Pope himself.

3. All was now quiet, but Bishop Peter, who had come home after a five years' crusade, was trying to turn the tables on Hubert by working on the king, who was always too ready to distrust his friends and listen to his foes, and in 1232 he managed to persuade Henry that his justiciar was robbing him. In one of his senseless rages the foolish youth dismissed his faithful counsellor, calling on him to give full account of all he had spent since he took office, and charging him with favouring law-breakers, giving selfish advice, and behaving treasonably. Hubert asked for time to answer, and took refuge in Merton Chapel. No one but his old chaplain Luke, now Archbishop of Dublin, dared speak for him, the Londoners clamoured to the king to try him for murdering Constantine, and his other enemies brought unjust accusations against him. Fearing injustice, he begged a further delay; but the angry king bade the mayor ring the *City bell* and summon the citizens in arms to bring the earl before him dead or alive. Happily Randulf got this cruel order

Peter des Roches
and the aliens,
1232-1234.

recalled, and Henry gave Hubert more time; but repenting again, he sent Godfrey of Craycombe with 300 soldiers to bring him to the Tower. Godfrey dragged the earl out of church and sent for a smith to fetter him. When the man came and found whom they wished to iron, he cast down his tools with a heavy sigh, and said, "Do what ye will to me, and God have mercy on my soul; but as the Lord liveth I will never set irons on this man. Is not he that good and faithful Hubert who hath so often saved England from being the spoil of aliens? Did he not serve King John in Gascony and Normandy, eating horse-flesh rather than give up his trust, so that his very foes honoured him? Did he not hold Dover against the French prince and all his host, and beat his fleet at sea, and save us all? I need not speak of Lincoln and Bedford. God judge between you and him! Surely ye are dealing unrighteously and unkindly with him, requiting him evil for good." But Godfrey, knowing that the king had sworn to hang him if he came back without Hubert, bound him with ropes and bore him off. The bishops would not suffer sanctuary to be broken, and made Henry send him back next day, but the royal officers blockaded the church till the earl was obliged to give himself up for lack of food. The king, however, grew ashamed of his violence, and let him live quietly at Devizes Castle under care of Richard, Earl of Cornwall (who had wed Isabel, the Marshal's sister, in 1230 by Hubert's advice), the Earls of Warrenne and Derby, and the Marshal Richard (who had lately succeeded his brother William).

Bishop Peter now swayed Henry as he would; his friend, the cowardly and clever Stephen of Segrave, was made Justiciar, his son, Peter of Rivals, treasurer. He drove the English judges, sheriffs, and castellans from their offices as traitors, and filled their places with poor and greedy Bretons and Poitevins, who flocked over in crowds to taste the king's bounty; so that outlaws were set to uphold the law, malefactors to keep the peace, and robbers to maintain the realm. The English barons were not likely to suffer their rights to be swept away, and the charters broken by these aliens without resistance, and in 1233 they told Henry plainly that unless he got rid of his foreign counsellors they must choose another king. Peter bribed some of them to join him, tried to lure their leader, Richard the Marshal (for the prudent and powerful Earl Randulf had died in 1232), to court to seize him, and sent to Devizes to slay Hubert. But the Marshal was warned in time, and went off to his Welsh earldom,

where he was joined by Hubert, who had been rescued by his soldiers. The bishop then proclaimed Richard a traitor, and when he asked to be *tried by his peers*, answered that the king could punish an evil-doer without trial if he chose. Richard and the barons now made a league with Llewellyn Prince of Wales and resolved to take up arms to defend themselves, for the bishop had sent for more hired soldiers from abroad. In August, when Henry marched into the Marshal's earldom, they surprised him at *Grosmont*, November 11, and put him to disgraceful flight, and twice beat his captains at *Monmouth*, November 25 and December 26. Following up these victories, Llewellyn and Richard took and burned *Shrewsbury* in January, and laying waste the lands of Peter and Stephen of Segrave, drove the king from Gloster to Winchester. Still Henry remained stubborn, and would not listen to any one but Peter, till on April 9, Edmund Rich, the newly chosen Archbishop of Canterbury (Stephen had died 1229, and his successor Richard in 1231), a pious and righteous man, came before him with a great number of clergy and said, "My lord, Peter's evil counsel lost your father his people's love and in the end his life. He egged on Fawkes to defy you, and led the Poitevins to rebel, and now he and his son are jeopardizing your very crown. Had you not listened to them your realm would not be divided against itself, your lands harried, or your money wasted. You have put yourself into the hands of a gang of lawless perjured aliens, who reck nothing of you or your realm, and flourish on war and pillage. You have been warned before. Repent now or we shall forthwith excommunicate you and all those who have estranged your loving subjects from you and broken the peace." Henry's eyes were at last opened, he dismissed Peter to his diocese, drove his son and Stephen of Segrave from their posts with threats and reproaches, and sent Edmund to treat with Llewellyn and the Marshal.

But it was too late to undo all the ill that had been done. Peter had written to barons of Ireland bidding them seize Richard's lands there, and the Marshal hurried over sea to repel his foes. He carried all before him till Geoffrey of Marsh, a false friend who had agreed to betray him, led him to meet the chief Irish barons near *Kildare*, April 1, to talk over a truce. The meeting ended in a battle, on which Geoffrey treacherously withdrew his troops, and left the Marshal with fifteen knights to withstand an enemy ten times his number; for he refused to fly. "I never turned

my back in battle yet, and God save me from such shame to-day." He held his own for several hours, like a lion at bay, slaying eight men with his own hand; for he was one of the strongest and most skilful knights alive, and he was not overcome till they set their Irish *kernes* to hough his horse, when he fell and was stabbed in the back before he could gain his feet. After a few days in prison he died of his wounds to the grief of all England, "for he was of the fairest face and form, of the finest courtesy, the noblest blood, and the widest knowledge, peerless in all feats of knighthood, a man that had ever the fear of God before his eyes, and the good of his king and country at heart, and was not afraid to jeopard himself in their behalf to bring back peace and goodwill, standing like a living bulwark between his lord and the barons." Henry wept when he heard the news, but he let the murderers have the Marshal's lands, and though he made peace with Llewellyn, Hubert, and the rest of their party, he did not take the lesson to heart. He would not make a new justiciar or treasurer, but tried to do their work himself; and as he only worked by fits and was wont to lay aside his rightful business to take up great designs which were never carried out, people soon had cause to complain of neglect and delays of justice and waste of money. New favourites came too, who were no better than the old, and so fresh troubles arose.

4. Henry's sister Joan had wed the King of Scots in 1216.

Henry and the
Provençals,
1234-1241.

He now gave the third, Isabel, a fair and courteous lady, to Frederick the Emperor to wife, a match which was well thought of, and next year, 1236, himself married Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Provence, amid great rejoicings. The streets of London were swept and cleaned, the houses were hung with garlands, banners, and lanterns; and a body of 360 burgesses, in silk gowns and hoods, mounted on fine horses with new trappings, rode out to welcome the bride. The wedding feast was splendid; the great earls acted as cupbearer, steward, almoner, and the like; the citizens of Winchester saw to the cooking, and the Londoners to the wines, and the good men of the Cinque Ports bore the canopy over the king and queen. Unhappily Eleanor soon made herself disliked. She was proud, did not care for the English or their ways, and encouraged her kinsfolk to come to England, where the king, ever fond of new faces and foreigners, married them to rich English heirs and heiresses, and loaded them with lands, gifts, and offices.

In 1238, by Hubert of Burgh's advice, Henry secretly married his sister Eleanor (the younger William Marshal's widow) to a newcomer, Simon of Montfort, and drew down the anger of Earl Richard of Cornwall and Gilbert the Marshal his brother-in-law and a warning from the Pope not to estrange his loyal subjects for the sake of new friends. But Simon was not really an alien. His grandfather had married Amisy, sister and heiress of the Earl of Leicester. His father, the famous warrior Simon, had led the French crusade for the Pope against the *Pure Christians of Albi* and *Beziers*, who denied his authority, slaying the King of Aragon, who came to their rescue at *Moret*, and breaking the power of their lord the Earl of Thoulouse, whose lands soon after fell into the hands of the French king. But John, who did not wish to see the Pope or French king profit by his brother-in-law's ruin, would not let Simon hold the earldom of Leicester, and gave it into the care of Randulf Earl of Chester. When he died the great crusader's sons agreed to divide their dead father's lands, Almeric taking the French and Simon the English fiefs. Simon had therefore come to England, and Henry not only gave him his father's earldom, but heartily favoured his marriage. However, his favour seldom lasted long, and in 1239 he suddenly accused his brother-in-law of dishonourable behaviour, and Hubert of giving traitorous counsel. Hubert answered boldly, "My lord, I never was traitor to you or yours, or you would not be king to-day." But Simon, disgusted, went abroad, and next year joined Earl Richard of Cornwall, with whom he had made friends on a crusade; for Richard, too, was tired of the king's fickleness and folly, and grieved to see England so ill-ruled. Richard ransomed many Christian prisoners, and rewall'd Ascalon, and Simon showed such wisdom and prowess that the barons of Jerusalem asked him to take care of their realm till their young king was of age, but he had duties to do in England, and came home with his brother-in-law in 1242.

5. Much against the archbishop's will, Henry in 1237 begged the Pope for a legate to reform the Church, which indeed needed looking to; for The Church and the friars. there were continual outcries against the selfishness, pride, and greed of the monks; the injustice, harshness, and perjury of the bishops, officers, and archdeacons; and the simony, evil-living, and neglect of duty of too many of the parish priests, so that the poor, despised and uncared-for, were even falling back into devil-worship. Gregory sent Otho, a discreet

man, but more eager to get money for his master than to deal with these deep ills, and the good counsel he did give was spurned when men saw his grasping hands. On his tour through England he came in 1238 to *Oxford*, where great schools had lately sprung up after the model of those of the far-famed Paris University. The scholars were most of them poor, and many of them lived by begging; but they sent Otho a gift of meat and wine, and went to see him at Oseney Abbey, where he was lodging. But his brother, who was steward of his household, a pompous person, nicknamed by the scholars *Nabuzaradan*, rudely thrust them from the doors, and when a poor Irish priest begged for a little soup, threw a ladleful of the boiling broth in his face. A Welsh student that stood by drew his bow and shot the steward dead. A fray began; the gownsmen swarmed out of Oxford armed with bows and short swords, and Otho only saved his life by flying up Oseney steeple. For this fray Henry, to please Otho, fined the scholars heavily, and shut up their schools for a time. In 1240 Otho, having done little good, went away, taking with him, men said, more church money than he left behind. Grieved by the legate's taxes and the king's harsh enforcement of his grandfather's Constitutions, Edmund piteously besought the Pope and Henry to stay their hand before the English Church was utterly destroyed, but he spoke in vain. So worn out by care, and hopeless of relief, he crossed the sea, like Anselm, to seek peace at *Pontigny*, and breathed his last at Soissi. In 1246 the Pope declared him a saint for his good life and true heart, and the miracles said to have been wrought at his tomb. His archbishopric was given to the queen's uncle, Boniface of Savoy, a well-meaning but violent and self-willed young man.

But better help was now at hand. Francis of Assisi, a young Italian nobleman, pitying the sick and poor, whom no man heeded, made up his mind to live, like the apostles, for their sakes and God's. He gave up his goodly heritage and all the common joys of life, and trusting to charity for his daily bread, clad in a single coarse undyed hooded woollen coat, girt with a cord, went about barefooted all day among the lepers and sick and poor, tending and teaching them. His kind heart and wonderful unselfishness drew followers to him, and he went to Pope Honorius to get leave to found an Order of *Begging Brothers*, or *Mendicant Friars*, who should vow to give up all that they had, to obey the Pope and the heads of their Order in all things, and to labour all their lives for the poor sick and helpless. When

Honorius looked at his sad wan face, his untrimmed hair and beard, his mud-stained feet and dirty threadbare coat, and heard these hard vows, he despised him as a madman, saying, "Get thee to the pigs, brother, fit fellows for thee; roll with them, and preach to them the rules of thy Order." Francis bowed his head, and went to the first pig's wallow he could find and did as the Pope bade him; then, caked in filth from head to foot, he came back to the Pope. "My lord, I have done thy bidding, grant me my prayer." Honorius, touched by his humility, bade him go and wash himself and come back quickly, for he would grant him his whole desire. Francis' *Grey Brothers* soon spread in little groups of tens and sevens over all Christian lands, and even went as missionaries among the heathen. When they came to a town, they built a little shed outside the wall, among the huts of the poor and lepers, to sleep in, and with no other dwelling went forth to their work of healing and teaching those who had no other helpers. Brother Agnell was their first head in England, and within ten years of their coming here they had forty convents. The poor and the better clergy welcomed them gladly, and Adam of Marsh, the friend of Robert Grossetête Bishop of Lincoln and of Simon of Montfort, was one of their first recruits.

Dominick, a canon of Osma in Aragon, who saw that the heretic teachers of the Albi Pure Christians were winning their way against the Catholic Church by their fervent preaching and lives of self-denial, founded an Order of *Brothers Preachers*, who were to take vows, poverty, and obedience, and devote themselves to the good of their neighbours' souls. These *Black Brothers* soon came to England under the encouragement of the king and Archbishop Edmund, and did good work. They were followed by other orders, such as the *White Friars*, or Brothers Carmelites, and the *Austin Friars*, or Hermit Brothers, till there were two or three hospitals or convents of these zealous champions of faith and charity in every town, in spite of the opposition of certain lazy monks and selfish parish priests who did not like to see others doing the work they had so long left undone.

6. After a Welsh war, ending in the submission of Prince David, Llewellyn's son, at Alney, 1241, Henry Poitou lost, 1242. received letters from Hugh the Brown, Earl of Marche (whom his mother had married after King John's death), begging him to come and free Poitou from the French king, who had taken it and given its earldom to his brother Alfonso. The English barons did not wish for war,

and King Louis IX. was unwilling to fight his brother-in-law for a province which he held on doubtful title (for his father had sworn to give it back). However, the French barons would not hear of its surrender, and Henry's heart was set on its rescue. With 1600 knights, 700 crossbowmen, and 20,000 foot he landed in Poitou, 1242, and pushed on to *Taillebourg*. But here he was outflanked by Louis, and his lines laid open by the sudden desertion of the Poitevins, Earl Hugh declaring that the letters sent to England were forged by his wife without his knowledge, and refusing to fight. But for a day's truce, granted at Earl Richard's request in return for his ransoming so many French prisoners in Palestine, Louis must have taken Henry and all his host. Twelve hours' delay gave time for a rapid retreat; but an English division was beaten at Saintes two days later, and Henry was driven into Gascony, where he passed the winter, lavishing the money that might have won back Poitou on worthless Gascon favourites. In the spring he made peace, yielding Poitou to Louis, and promising him £1000 a year. Followed by a throng of greedy foreign courtiers, Henry came home, and at Westminster in 1244 told his council that he was deep in debt, and must have a grant of money from clergy and laymen too. The barons were a little distrustful of the clergy since Stephen of Langton's death, accusing them of looking only to their own good, and so obeying the Pope's unrighteous demands and trying to force the Church Law upon the country. This had led to their famous protest at *Merton*, 1236, "*We will not let the Church change the laws of England.*" But when Robert Grossetête rose and told them that the only way for them to withstand the wrongful claims of Pope or king was for the clergy and barons to act together, they agreed to name a joint Board of Twelve to speak for them all. The Twelve told the king that the charters were broken over and over again, and that they must choose a justiciar and chancellor to build up the falling realm; but on the king's own word that he would keep his oaths, they let him have a scutage, refusing him any more money till things were better.

7. At this very time Master Martin, Pope Innocent's agent, by blank orders, which he filled up as he pleased, and other wrongful devices, was wringing vast sums from the English Church for the war against Frederick the Emperor, who wrote to warn the English barons against granting him any money to his damage or theirs. They determined to stand

Clergy and
people oppressed by King
and Pope,
1245-1248.

by their Church, drove Martin from the kingdom, and sent Roger the Bigod and others to the *Council of Lyons* in 1245 to tell the Pope that he had no right to tax the Church or realm of England, John's cession being bad in law. Next year the king and all the council sent him a second protest, in which they complain-

That the Pope is not content with Peter's Pence, but wrings money from the Church against the law of the realm, without the king's leave, and contrary to their protest.

That the Pope wrongfully puts ignorant, greedy, or absentee Italians into English livings in spite of his own promises, the patron's right, and the English clergy's privileges.

That the Pope by his pretended right of recalling his former charters had made all customs, laws, grants, contracts, and oaths of none effect.

But when Innocent wrote threatening to dethrone Henry as he had dethroned his brother-in-law Frederick, the king and Earl Richard gave way, the leaderless nobles let the matter drop, and the clergy were forced again "to sate the greed of Rome."

The king's mother died in 1246, and his half-brothers came to England with more Poitevin courtiers. Henry welcomed them warmly, loading Guy of Lusignan with presents, marrying William of Valence, whom he made Earl of Pembroke, to a rich heiress, and forcing Ethelmar into the rich bishopric of Winchester. The haughtiness, greed, and reckless violence of these new-comers, and their outspoken contempt for the English and their laws, made them hateful even to Boniface and the Provençals.

8. In 1248 the king was again in distress; ill-ruled and torn by feuds, Gascony was fast falling a prey to the treachery of its nobles and the ambition of the King of Castile. The English barons would grant no more without instant reforms. "We have been tricked too often by false promises. We will not beggar ourselves for nothing." Henry despaired. "My nobles hate me! I have lost Poitou, and now I shall lose Gascony, for what can I do without money?" His brother (from whom he had taken the dukedom for his own son Edward) would not help him, but Simon of Montfort generously agreed to go out as a governor, and enough was scraped together from the sale of the crown jewels, the plunder of the Jews, and loans, to equip a small army for him. In spite of bitter resistance, Simon's stern rule brought back order, peace, and trade, and saved the dukedom. In 1252 he came home for fresh supplies, and his enemies, knowing Henry's

Gascony saved
by Earl Simon,
1248-1263.

distrustful temper, cunningly and falsely charged him with robbery, cruelty, and treason. Being proved guiltless he sharply rebuked the king for his ungrateful behaviour. "Nay, my lord," he went on, "thou hast not even paid me back the money I spent in thy service, though I had thy word for it." "I am not ashamed to break my word to a traitor," said Henry angrily. "Wert thou not king, I would avenge these words. Art thou a Christian? Dost thou confess thy sins?" "Yea verily." "Thy confession will never profit thee without contrition and repentance." "I repent me of this at least, that I made thee earl in England, to wax fat and kick against me. Get thee to Gascony, thou lovest strife; take thy fill there, and meet thy father's fate." "I go, my lord, and for all thine ungrateful dealing I shall not come back till I have made thy foes thy footstool." He kept his word, and having gained a signal victory, gave up his toilsome post in 1253.

9. Meanwhile Henry, wishing to go to Gascony himself, and determined "never to make ministers to rule over him," having taken the cross, got the Grossetête opposes the Pope and King, 1253. Pope to order the English clergy to pay him a *tenth* of their income for his pilgrimage. The nobles laughed. "How shall he succeed where the flower of France has failed?" But the clergy doubted whether he meant to go to Palestine, and were hard put to it "between the pulling of the king and the pushing of the Pope." "The French have had to pay," said Ethelmar. "Yes, and it brought their king ill-luck," answered the Bishop of Ely. But Grossetête said, "If we pay too, *Twice make a custom*, and we shall have no peace. God forbid that we should bow the knee to Baal!" The song shows the feeling of the clergy:—

"Free and held in high esteem : the clergy used to be,
None were better cherished : or loved more heartily.
Slaves are they now : despised, brought low,
Betrayed (as all deplore)
By those from whom : their help should come ;
I say no more.

King and Pope alike in this : to one purpose hold,
How to make the clergy yield : their silver and their gold.
The Pope gives way : the truth to say,
Far too much to the king ;
Our tithes he grants : to ease his wants
To his liking."

However, on Henry agreeing to confirm the Charters by

oath, while the bishops excommunicated all who should break them, a sum was granted him in 1253, and he went to Bordeaux. But he was stern when he should have been mild, and pardoned when he should have punished, and the unruly Gascons defied him till Simon (who had refused the regency of France lest he should be thought to desert England) joined him, when the rebels fled, "for they dreaded Simon like a thunderbolt." Henry then made peace with Alfonso of Castile, by marrying his son Edward to the Spanish king's daughter Eleanor, and started homeward by way of Pontigny and Paris to visit S. Edmund's tomb, to see his brother-in-law Louis, who welcomed him with feasts and merry-making. He reached England in 1254 so deeply in debt that he dare not let his nobles know how much he owed, and fresh troubles arose.

Grossetête died before they came, but he had foreseen them. He drew up a list of the Rights of the English Church, which might serve as a standard against royal attacks, and boldly reproved the envoys of the Pope (whose foreign nominees drew 70,000 marks a year from English livings) for ordering him to give Innocent's nephew a living for which he was unfit. "The Pope has power to build up," he wrote, "but not to pull down. These appointments tend to *destruction*, not to *edification*, being of man's device and not according to the words of the apostles or their Master, whose earthly type the Pope should be. I therefore, as a priest, a Catholic, a Christian, and your servant, disobey, deny, and hold void your commands respecting this young man." Before his death he also solemnly charged Simon of Montfort (whom he loved as he had loved Richard the Marshal) never as he cared for his soul to forsake the cause of the people he had come among, but to stand up even to the death, as might most likely be needful, for a true and righteous government.

10. It was not long ere his help was called for. On the Emperor's death, Innocent had offered the crown of Sicily to Earl Richard, who of course refused the costly gift; but Henry was foolish enough in 1255 to accept it from Pope Alexander for his second son, Edmund. The Pope was to carry on the war against Manfred, Frederick's son, who now held it, at Henry's cost, till he could come to Sicily himself, and the English clergy were to give the king their *tenth* as if for a crusade. Nobles and clergy both withstood this mad scheme, which could profit none but the Pope's officers; but Henry persisted, and in 1257 had to confess that he had

bound himself to pay 140,000 marks to Alexander for past services. The clergy, pressed by the Pope's agents, gave him a little money, but the nobles withheld all supplies till reforms were made. These could not be put off much longer. The king's judges, sheriffs, and foreign favourites were breaking the law unchecked and unpunished; the king was disgracefully driven back in an attack on Llewellyn Prince of Wales (who had succeeded his uncle David), and a wet season was followed by a grievous famine.

Earl Richard had formerly advised his brother well, but since his marriage with Sancha the queen's sister in 1243, he stood aloof from English affairs, and was now in Germany, where he had by his wealth and wisdom got himself chosen Emperor. Prince Edward, who was to show his worth later, was now hand in glove with Roger of Mortimer and the wild Lords Marchers, sons of King John's friends, wholly taken up with tournaments and the Welsh border war. Simon was the only man akin to the royal house from whom help was to be looked for, and in 1258, when Richard of Clare Earl of Gloster, came forward in Parliament, and declared that the *royal mistakes called for special treatment*, he gave him hearty support. There was a hot debate, the king's friends holding that Henry must be free to override the laws in case of need, to choose his own officers, and manage the realm as he would. The barons answered, "How would the king do without us in war? He ought, therefore, to listen to us in peace. And can it be called peace when evil counsellors mislead the king, fill the land with foreign tyrants, and grind down us native Englishmen? for," as one of Simon's friends sang—

"The king that tries without advice to seek his people's weal
Must often fail, he cannot know the wants and woes they feel;
The Parliament must tell the king how he may serve them best,
And he must see their wants fulfilled and injuries redressed.
A king should seek his people's good, and not his own sweet will,
Nor think himself a slave because men hold him back from ill;
For they that keep the king from sin serve him the best of all,
Making him free that else would be to sin a wretched thrall.
True king is he, and truly free, who rules himself aright,
And chooses freely what he knows will ease his people's plight.
'All things are lawful to the king,' yea, but we also find
'All things are not convenient,' which the true king keeps in mind.
Think not it is the king's goodwill that makes the law to be—
For law is steadfast, and a king has no stability—
No! law stands high above the king, for law is that true light
Without whose ray the king would stray and wander from the right.

When a king strays, he ought to be called back into the way
By those he rules, who lawfully his will may disobey
Until he seeks the path; but when his wandering is o'er,
They ought to help and succour him, and love him as before."

The armed barons at last made Henry consent that a Board of XXIV. (half chosen by him, half by the barons) should reform the realm. On June 11, at Oxford, this board, having appointed a justiciar, Hugh le Bigod, a chancellor and treasurer, and named a temporary committee to see to the king's wants and debts, presented to the Parliament a list of Thirty Grievances (chiefly touching the employment of aliens and the evil conduct of royal officers), and a *New Constitution*, known as the *Purveyance or Provisions of Oxford*.

The king was to have a standing Privy Council of Fifteen, by whose advice he was bound to act, and to whom the ministers were accountable.

Three times a year a Parliament was to be held, to which the baronage (to save the trouble and expense of all being present) were to send Twelve Commissioners to represent them, who with the Council and the king should make laws, settle taxation, and do all weighty business. Four knights were to be chosen by the freeholders in each shire to watch over the sheriff and other royal officers.

Every minister must resign or seek re-election at the end of his year of office.

The Fifteen Counsellors were—Archbishop Boniface, the Earls of Richmond, Aumale, and Warwick, John Mansel, and James of Audley—all of the king's party; and of the barons' side, Walter of Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, the Earls of Leicester, Gloster, Hereford, and Norfolk, Piers of Montfort, Roger of Mortimer, Richard of Grey, and John Geoffrey's son.

This new Constitution, which bound Henry more tightly than the Charter tied his father, was accepted and sworn to by the barons and proclaimed by the king in letters written in French, Latin, and English. The aliens, headed by Henry's half-brothers, fled over sea. Their posts were filled by Englishmen; and next year, on the motion of Simon and Prince Edward, at the demand of the *Bachelery* [knights, country gentlemen, and merchants], to complete the reform, Parliament gave remedies for the Thirty Grievances, promised that the nobles should treat their vassals as the king treated them, and agreed to the sheriffs being chosen by the shire-moots.

Simon and the king then went over sea to make a final treaty with France, and at *Paris*, 1258, Henry gave up all claims to Normandy in exchange for the Limousin, Quercy, and Perigueux, and the pay for 500 knights for two years.

11. The Purveyance held good for five years, though till his death in 1262 Richard of Clare showed great jealousy of Simon and the *Bachelery*, in spite of the people's warning:—

' End, O Earl of Gloster, what thou hast begun !
 Save thou end it fitly, we are all undone.
 Play the man, we pray thee, as thou hast promised,
 Cherish steadfastly the cause of which thou wast the head.
 He that takes the Lord's work up, and lays it down again,
 Shamed and cursed may he be, and all shall say Amen."

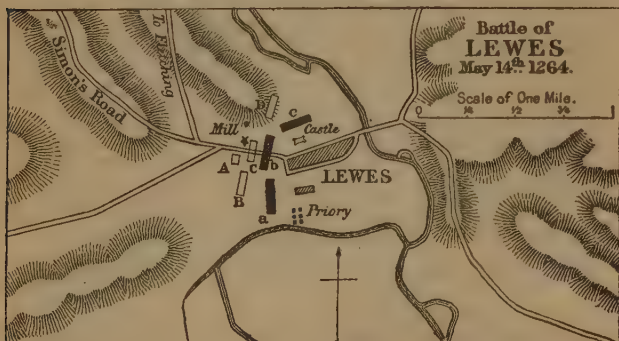
And the queen and John Mansel, by taunting the king with giving up his rights, led him more than once to strive to free himself from control. But Simon drove out the aliens he had recalled, and the king's brother (now back in England as King of the Romans) and Prince Edward stood firm to their oaths.

At last the Londoners' insults to his mother, whom they pelted and hooted as a witch, and the deadly feud between Simon's friend Llewellyn and his friends and neighbours Roger Lord Mortimer and the Marchers, made the prince turn, and both sides made ready to fight it out. To save bloodshed it was settled to refer the whole dispute to King Louis. His award, the *Mise of Amiens*, 23rd January 1264, swept away the Purveyance, gave the king power to choose his own ministers (whether aliens or no), but confirmed the charters. A few days later Pope Urban freed Henry from his oath, and declared the New Constitution null and void. King Richard, Lord Clifford, and many of the northern barons, Lord Mortimer and the Marchers, and most of the bishops and earls now deserted the reformers; but Simon said, "Though all should forsake us, I and my four sons will stand up to the death for the righteous cause I have sworn to uphold, to the honour of the Church and the good of the realm;" and bitterly added, "I have been in many lands, heathen and Christian, but nowhere have I seen such bad faith and falsehood as in England." Chief among the faithful few were Hugh le Despenser the Justiciary, Gilbert the young Earl of Gloucester, and the midland barons; but the Cinque Ports and London, the Oxford scholars and the Franciscan friars were Simon's warmest partisans. As in John's days, the barons' strength lay in the south and east, the king's in the west.

Prince Edward and the Marchers took Gloucester, and joined Henry at Oxford in March. Having taken Simon the earl's son and eighty of his knights at Northampton, Henry turned south to crush the

The war of
 Lewes, 1264.

Cinque Ports, cut off London, and relieve Rochester, which Simon was besetting. The king's army plundered freely, and made the towns pay heavy ransom; and the barons, on a rumour that the Jews were betraying them, killed all they could take and laid hands on their money. Simon started to meet the king, sending to offer King Richard £3000 if he would settle a peace, and to assure Henry that he only wished to free him from his foes; but his words were despised, and he was defied as a traitor. In the dawning of the 14th May, having surprised the royal outposts, Simon marched over the downs on Lewes. When he saw the spire of the priory where the king lay he halted his men, and, all dismounting, spoke: "Brethren, we are going to fight to-day for our country and our oath's sake. Let us pray God, if this our undertaking be pleasing in His sight, to give us might to fulfil the same, serving Him as good knights, and overcoming all our enemies." The soldiers then fell upon the ground and prayed, stretching their arms out crosswise, "Lord, give us victory according to our desires and Thy glory!" while the brave old Bishop of Worcester blessed them. Simon now drew up his army, and having knighted the Earl of Gloucester and other young



A Simon.
B Simon's sons.
C Gloucester.
D Londoners.

a King Henry.
b King Richard.
c Prince Edward.
* Standard Car.

squires, waited for the king's attack. Prince Edward, eager to avenge his mother, began the battle, falling on the Lon-

doners Simon had sent to outflank him, and driving them before him with heavy slaughter four miles off the field. The king's main body made for the standard-car, where they thought to find Simon, but their straggling ranks were cut in two by the steady advance of the barons. When Edward came back from the pursuit, he found Simon victorious. King Richard had been driven into a mill, where, to the mockery of his foes, he was taken by Sir John of Bevs, a new-made knight, and King Henry, driven back wounded and on foot (for his charger had been killed under him) to the river, had yielded to the Earl of Gloucester. Next day the king sealed the *Mise of Lewes*, in which he vowed to keep the Charters and the Articles of Grievances, to live thriftily till his debts were paid, to employ no aliens, to refer the Purveyance to arbitration again, and to give his son Edward and Henry, King Richard's son, as hostages for his good behaviour till a final reform was made. Great was the joy of Englishmen at this unhoped-for success (for the bulk of the barons' small army were raw levies), and deep their thankfulness to Simon, as the Oxford friar's lay witnesses :—

" It is of Lewes fight I sing, give heed, give heed I pray !
 For to that fight it is ye owe the peace ye have to-day ;
 If they had won who turned to flight so shamefully that morn,
 The very name of Englishman had been a word of scorn.
 God's blessing on Earl Simon, his sons, and followers light !
 Who put their lives in jeopardy and fought a desperate fight,
 Because their hearts were moved to hear their English brethren groan
 Beneath the hard taskmasters' rods, making a grievous moan,
 Like Israel under Pharaoh's yoke, in thralldom and in dread,
 Their freedom gone, their lives scarce spared, so evilly they sped.
 But at the last the Lord looked down and saw His people's pain,
 And sent a second Mattathias to break their bonds in twain,
 Who with his sons so full of zeal for the Law and for the Right,
 Will never flinch a single inch before the tyrant's might.
 To Simon's faith and faithfulness alone our peace we owe,
 He raised the weak and hopeless, and made the proud to bow,
 He set the realm at one again, and brought the mighty low."

12. In June Parliament chose Three Electors (Earl Simon, Earl Gilbert, and the Bishop of Chichester) to name the king's *Standing or Privy Council* anew, and lowered its number from Fifteen to Nine. They also did away with the Parliamentary Commissioners, for Simon held it as much a man's duty to think and work for his country as to fight for her. The authority of the Electors, who were to watch the council, was only to last for a fixed time.

The queen, Archbishop Boniface, and those who had fled

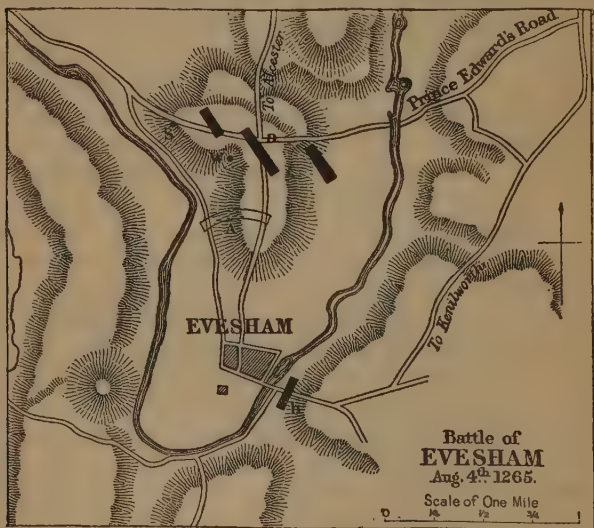
from Lewes had already gathered an army in Flanders to invade England and overthrow the new govern- Simon's full Parliament, 1265.
ment. Simon therefore formed a camp at Dover, and the Cinque Port mariners, stopping the Pope's legate, tore up the Bull against the barons which he wished to bring to England, and blockaded the queen's fleet till she disbanded her soldiers. In 1265 Simon called a Parliament, to which he summoned not only earls, barons, clergy, and two knights (chosen by the shire-moot) from each shire, but also two burgesses from each city and town, which had never been done before; for he wished to have the approval of all classes for his plans, and this he got from his *full Parliament*.

Not that his foes were all crushed. Earl Gilbert, like his father, grew jealous of another's leadership, and took offence at the somewhat proud behaviour of the younger Montforts. Roger Mortimer and the Marchers rose, William of Valence landed in South Wales with a body of crossbowmen, and an able and zealous leader was found in Prince Edward, who escaped from his custody at Hereford. Getting leave to ride out in the country, he made his guards race their horses till they were tired out, when, leaping on a fresh and swift horse, sent him by Lord Mortimer, he galloped off to Wigmore, safe from pursuit. Earl Simon with the king had gone west to cut off the rising on the March and get help from Llewellyn, sending his second son, Simon, to Kenilworth to gather troops there and join him at Evesham, whither he now turned. But by a sudden raid Edward surprised and broke up young Simon's camp, taking his banner and driving him into the castle till help came. Knowing that Earl Simon had but few men with him, he then hurried off to Evesham to attack him, before young Simon could gather his scattered troops and march to his father's help.

On Tuesday morning, August 4, hearing that an army was drawing near, Simon sent his barber Nicholas up Evesham belfry to see whose men they were. When he called out that he could see young Simon's arms on the hill the earl was glad, but when behind them he espied the standards of the prince and Gloucester, and saw the well-known banner of Mortimer flying over another division which was coming down the Kenilworth road to cut off all retreat, the truth was clear. "By the arm of S. James," cried the earl, "they come on skilfully, for they have turned my lessons against me. God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are theirs! Though if Simon were yet alive and could come up we might hope;" and pointing to Glou-

The murder
of Evesham,
Aug. 4, 1265.

cester's battalion, he turned to his son, "See, Henry, what your pride has done." Henry and his friends begged him to fly before Mortimer came up, but he would not. "I had as lief die here in a good cause as in the Holy Land!" As soon as the good old Bishop of Worcester had blessed his little army (of which as at Lewes every man wore a white cross on his shoulder), Simon advanced against Edward's great host. So furious was his charge that at first it seemed as if he would cut his way through them, though they had seven men to every two of his; but his Welsh footmen lost heart and fled, and Sir Warin of Basingburn rallied the prince's men with the cry, "Remember Lewes!" and the little troop of White Crosses was soon hemmed in. Henry



A Simon's Army.
W The Well.
S Spot where Simon fell.

a Prince Edward.
b Mortimer.

of Montfort was the first to fall, then, one after another Piers of Montfort, his cousin John of Beauchamp, Hugh le Despenser the wise and upright judge, Guy of Balliol who bore the earl's banner, and many more, were struck down. Simon himself was wounded and dismounted, but he fought

on to the last like a giant for the freedom of England, till a foot soldier stabbed him in the back under the mail, and he was borne down and slain. The unequal fight had lasted from six to nine o'clock in the midst of the darkness caused by a great storm, and was so fierce that King Henry, who had been forced to ride with Simon to the battle, had much ado to save his life, being badly hurt by a javelin before he could make himself known to his son's soldiers. The conquerors savagely mangled the dead earl, and sent his head to Maud, wife of Roger of Mortimer, but the prince allowed the Grey Brothers of Evesham to bury his body.

Those who knew Simon praise his piety, admire his learning, and extol his prowess as a knight and skill as a general. They tell of his simple fare and plain russet dress, bear witness to his kindly speech and firm friendship to all good men, describe his angry scorn for liars and unjust men, and marvel at his zeal for truth and right, which was such that neither pleasure nor threats nor promises could turn him aside from keeping the oath he swore at Oxford; for he held up the good cause "like a pillar that cannot be moved, and like a second Josiah esteemed righteousness the very healing of his soul." As a statesman he wished to bind the king to rule according to law, and to make the king's ministers responsible to a full Parliament; and though he did not live to see the success of his policy, he had pointed out the way by which future statesmen might bring it about.

13. As soon as Edward had left Kenilworth, young Simon gathered his scattered troops and followed him towards Evesham; but having halted at Alcester for a meal, he was too late for the battle, and was obliged to go back in great grief to his castle, where many of his father's party who had not been at Evesham joined him. In October the king, wishing to put an end to the struggle, called a Parliament at Winchester, when all laws made since Lewes were annulled, and all who had fought against him disinherited. The city of London was fined and lost its charter, and the Lady Eleanor, Simon's widow, banished. The *Disinherited*, seeing that they could get no mercy, determined to fight it out. Some threw themselves into Kenilworth with Sir Henry of Hastings, others fortified themselves at Axholm, and the Earl of Derby began plundering in the midlands. Young Simon was persuaded to yield, but soon after fled abroad. The Earl of Derby was made prisoner at *Chesterfield*, the isle of Axholm surrendered to Edmund the king's son, and Sir Adam Gordon was taken by Edward

The Dis-
inherited,
1265-1267.

himself after a hand-to-hand fight. But the garrison of Kenilworth defied the whole royal army, for it was strongly built and held by stalwart men; and when the legate in his red cope excommunicated them, they dressed up their surgeon, Master Peter Porpoise, a cunning man, and set him on the wall to curse him back. In August, at a Parliament at Coventry, Prince Edward got a Board of Twelve chosen to try and make a just award concerning the Disinherited. Henry of Germany was the chief of those chosen, and they drew up the *Ban of Kenilworth*, October 1266, by which—

The charters were again confirmed, and the Purveyance again cancelled.

The adherents of Simon were to be punished by *fine*, not *disinherison*, so that the king could repay those who had served him faithfully without giving cause for fresh war.

Those who should proclaim Simon a holy or righteous man (seeing that he died under the ban of the Church), or spread abroad vain and idle miracles said to be wrought by his dead body, were to be punished.

But the besieged refused this award as too harsh, and held out till Christmas, when for lack of victuals famine-fever broke out among them and they were obliged to yield. However, though his cause was now hopeless, Sir John d'Eyville set up a fortified camp at Ely, and issuing forth thence plundered Lincoln and Norwich, carrying off the Jews and rich citizens for the sake of their ransoms, so that the king was obliged to march against him. By means of a bridge of hurdles and planks thrown across the fen, Prince Edward carried the island, July 1267, after much trouble; but Sir John got away and joined the Earl of Gloucester, who, fearing that his enemy Roger of Mortimer was plotting against his life, had raised an army, and having plundered Westminster Palace and occupied London, was besieging the legate in the Tower. The king hurried south, sent abroad for hired soldiers, and beleaguered the city for sixty days, till peace was made by the good offices of King Richard and Sir Philip Basset. Llewellyn of Wales was still in arms, and Henry led an army against him; but the legate brought about a treaty between them at Shrewsbury, and soon after the work of peace was completed by a re-issue of the remedies of the Thirty Grievances or *Provisions of Westminster* at a Parliament at *Marlborough*.

14. Next year Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, Henry

Prince Edward's
Crusade, 1270-
1272.

of Germany, Gilbert of Gloucester, and many more took the cross at *Northampton*, meaning to join King Louis on his second crusade. By the time they reached Tunis the good king was dead of the

plague, and they were only able to succour his suffering army. Henry of Germany and others now determined to go home with the returning Frenchmen; but Prince Edward swore that if all left him, he and his groom Fowin would go on to Acre (which was being closely besieged by the Saracens) dead or alive, and so went his way with his faithful wife and his own men in thirteen ships only. Henry got as far as Viterbo, when Simon of Montfort and his brother Guy, who was living there with an Italian earl, his father-in-law, set upon him in the cathedral as he was praying after the mass and stabbed him as he clung to the altar praying for mercy. They then dragged him out of the holy place and mangled his body in revenge for the way the king's knights had treated their father's corpse. For this dreadful deed Guy was outlawed, but Simon died before he could be brought to justice. King Richard was ailing already, but when he heard of his son's murder he rapidly grew worse, and shortly afterwards died. He was buried at his church at Hales by the side of his wife Sancha. He was a man who had given great promise of a finer career, and had he been content with his position in England might by his good influence over his weaker brother have prevented much of the trouble that fell upon the country during his life.

In Easter 1271 Edward reached Acre and raised the siege. He then pushed on to Nazareth and took it, and gained a battle over the Memlook army at *Kakehow*. In August, while he was staying at Acre, the Emir of Joppa sent him many messages pretending that he wished to become a Christian; and at last, as he was sitting on his bed in the heat of the day, a messenger bearing letters from the Emir was brought to talk with him. As the prince was listening to him the man suddenly drew a poisoned dagger and struck at him. The prince caught the blow on his arm, and thrust the assassin backwards with a blow of his foot, then leaping up, he wrested the knife from him and killed him before his chamberlains could run up. The wound grew worse, and it was feared that it might prove deadly, when an Englishman came forward and promised to cure him if he would let him cut out the poisoned sore. The princess wept for fear of the operation, but her brother-in-law Edmund and John of Vescy led her away, saying, "It is better, lady, that you should weep than that all England should have cause to mourn;" and the surgeon treated the prince so skilfully that within a fortnight his arm was healed. However, having been called home by his father,

who was in his last illness, he stayed no longer in the Holy Land, and when he reached Sicily the news of the king's death at Bury, November 16, met him.

Henry was a good man, merciful, pious, brave, fond of learning and a lover of art and poetry, a kind father and a fond husband, and ever desirous of doing his duty to his people and his Church ; but he had faults which made him unfit for the crown. He was extravagant, fickle, quick-tempered, suspicious, yet easily led, and full of false ideas of his duties and rights as king ; but above all, he set so little store by his plighted word that no man could depend upon his promises, and it was this sin that led him into misfortunes and brought upon him the contempt and dislike of those who would but for it have loved and respected him. Had not his finer qualities enabled him to gain the friendship of those wiser than himself and secure the love of his son and his brother, he would certainly have lost his kingdom, and most probably his life. In person he was like his father, of middle height, well made, and handsome (save that one of his eyelids drooped somewhat over the pupil of the eye), his manners were courteous and graceful, and he spoke well and readily.

CHAPTER V.

England under the Angevin Kings, 1154-1272.

1. During the hundred years that followed the restoring of law and order by Henry II. great changes had come about in England. English society, government, books, and speech, all alike showed deep marks of the new thoughts and feelings that, step by step, had spread over Western Europe, and set up that form of civilization which we call *medieval*. A civilization which had Rome for its religious centre, and looked to Paris, Oxford, and Salerno for its learning, and the French and English courts for its literature. A knot of states whose commerce, regulated by self-governing guilds, flowed westward from the great Italian trading republics, through the fairs of France and Germany to the marts of Flanders and the ports of England and Gascony, till the circuit of trade ended

Medieval
Europe.

in the counters of the mighty Hanse Company, the merchant principality of the Baltic. Europe was thus a set of kingdoms governed by curious half-feudal, half-free, half-despotic constitutions, in which local feelings were everywhere strong, but centralization everywhere welcome, under which slavery was still legal and a foreign churchman a recognised controlling power, but where the free yeoman and the tradesman of the chartered borough had their due place in the Parliament by the side of the wealthy prelate, the noble earl, and the anointed king. In these states dwelt a succession of generations who invented no single tool, implement, or art, who with rarest exceptions were wholly ignorant of the sciences of the past, and disliked the very dreams of the sciences that were to come, but who could build cathedrals which are "miracles in stone," forge metal-work which has never been surpassed, embroider raiment more splendid than that of the East, and show, amid squalor, dirt, and misery, a true and unfailing taste in every article of daily life. A state of society ignorant, cruel, and superstitious, whose pattern is to be found in marvellous and often unpleasant legends of anchorites and martyrs, and in the brilliant but misleading romances of chivalry, but withal a state of society in which men were earnest, dutiful, and hardworking, and which could display such noble types of character as the untiring and unselfish Francis, the friend of the poor and helpless, the brave and holy bishops Hugh and Grossetête, the faithful Earl Simon, and the saintly King Louis. Such was that mediæval Europe of which England henceforward stood forth one of the foremost powers.

To bring England into this place many causes had wrought together: first the stern order of the Norman kings and bishops, and the far-sighted decrees of Henry II. and his ministers, who had not only strengthened the king but had kept up free local government; then the loss of the North French provinces, which left English interests as the sole business for English kings; and, above all, the struggles in which churchmen, nobles, yeomen, and merchants had stood side by side for English freedom against foreign foes and royal misrule. And all these had made the nation more of a *whole* than it had ever been before. Then there were the Crusades and the wide interests they had roused, the spread of trade, and hence rise of towns under the favour of the French and English kings and bishops; the New Learning, which, starting from the Mahommedan courts of Bagdad and Cordova, brought morsels of the lost wisdom of heathen

Greece and Rome back to Christian Europe, and raised the palace and cathedral schools into noble universities where zeal for learning and orderly teaching paved the way for the Reformation and Renaissance centuries later. Last, but not least, there were the friars at their lowly but most useful work, raising the poor and helpless, reproving cruelty and slavery, breaking down class-pride, spreading new knowledge and better ways among the meanest of the land.

2. The form of government which was set in working order by Henry II. lasted long, as it was not only well fitted for the wants of his day, but could easily be suited by slight changes to the shifting needs of later times. Edward I. revised it, and the statesmen of Edward III. made new use of it in the Good Parliament, but its main features remain even in our own times. The *active* power was in the hands of the king and his Council, and was carried out by ministers, officers, and judges chosen by the Crown.

The English Constitution of the thirteenth century.

What the courts and boards were which made up the *central administration* may be best seen from Tables I., II., III. The great struggle of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in England was not the old one, whether the king was to rule absolutely—for since the Charters all were agreed that "*the Law was above the King*"—but *whether the Council, ministers, and officers were to be appointed by the Crown or by Parliament*. In the end the king kept the right of naming them, but that they owed an account to Parliament as well as to the Law for all they did was clearly acknowledged; and kings found it best for themselves to dismiss unpopular ministers. The office of Grand Justiciar, the holder of which had been Prime Minister, President of the Council, and Chief Judge in one, was swept away after the barons' war in Henry III.'s later days, as the king would not have a nominee of the barons put in such a place of power, and the barons would not take any man the king might choose. The duties of the office were therefore shared out among the Treasurer, Chancellor, and the chief judges of the three Common Law Courts (as will be seen in Table II.)

The Great Council of the Realm, during the reign of John by the separate summons of knights of the shire (see Great Charter), and under Henry III. by the summons of burgesses, grew from a gathering of nobles and crown-tenants into a *regularly-called representative assembly* fully entitled to speak for the whole nation. The old belief "*that what touches all should be treated of by all*" was held firmly by

the English statesmen of the day, and it only remained to be seen *how far the control of taxation should lie with the nation*, and this was in the days of Edward I. and Edward III. settled in favour of the Parliament.

Local government in the shires was carried on by the shire-moots and hundred-moots under the eye of the sheriff and hundred-elders. These were controlled in matters of *justice* by the Royal Judges, who went regular *circuits* through each county to hold courts of assize. In matters of *revenue* the sheriff was helped by *coroners* and *escheators* (officers chosen in the shire-moot to look after the king's rights over felons' land and the like), and had to give his account and pay his dues to the Exchequer Court twice a year. In matters of *police* and *militia* the new decrees as to the *fyrð* (see p. 33), the making of high constables of the counties, and the heavy fines of the king's judges had all bettered matters much. The sheriff was still the highest officer in the county, but he was chosen by the freeholders of the county (till Edward II.'s reign), and so carefully looked after that his means of misusing his power were slight, and the chief complaints from the counties now refer rather to the harshness or bribery of the royal officers and judges, and show little illwill to the sheriff or his officers.

An example of a criminal trial in Henry III.'s time will show best how like and how unlike the law system followed was to that of our own time. A man supposed to have committed a murder is taken by the village watchman and handed over to the sheriff for safe keeping till the king's judges come round and the assize courts are held. At a shire-moot then held, the *grand jury* having heard the proofs against the prisoner *present him* as guilty. He is now taken into the assize court before the king's judge and a sworn *petty* [small] jury of twelve of his neighbours (named by four knights chosen in the shire-moot for this duty); but if he *pleads not guilty* [claims to be innocent] after the *indictment* [accusation] is read to him, the jury, who are supposed to have *personal* knowledge of the matter, settle whether he is guiltless or not; if they give a *verdict* against him the judge gives *sentence* of death according to law, and this is shortly carried out; if, on the other hand, the jury hold him *quit of the charge*, he is set free. Witnesses were not often called on either side; the prisoner had to defend himself. The goods and lands of *convict felons* (persons found guilty of bad crimes) were forfeited to the Crown, hence prisoners, fearing lest their families should suffer, would sometimes

refuse to plead before the king's judge, in which case they were starved and heavily chained till they agreed to do so, for till they pleaded the trial could not go on. In *Civil Cases* there was no *grand jury*; the *petty jury* heard the plaintiff and defendant state their case in person or by counsel, witnesses were often called, and the *verdict* ended the matter. The king's judge presided over the trial, and told the jury the law of the case and the points they had to settle. *Appeals* lay to the King's Bench at Westminster, and finally to the Lords in cases where suitors were still dissatisfied. *The Common Law*, that is, the body of Customs which made up the Law of England, was now studied, as well as the *Civil Law* (the laws of the old Roman Empire as preserved in the *Code*, *Digest*, and *Institutes* of the Emperor Justinian). The Serjeants and Barristers-at-Law who pleaded in the king's courts, and the Attorneys, who acted as law agents in civil cases, found plenty to do, and formed a wealthy and flourishing though somewhat unpopular class. The chief law-books of the period, all in Latin, are the *Book on the Laws of England*, by Ranulf of Glanville, Henry II.'s famous and worthy Justiciar (which is thought to be founded on a lost work of Ranulf Torch, the clever but unrighteous minister of the Red King); the *Book of the Exchequer*, by Roger of Salisbury's great-nephew, the Treasurer, Richard Nigel's son, Bishop of London in Henry II.'s time; a treatise on the *Laws and Customs of England*, by Nicholas of Bracton, one of Henry III.'s judges, which was put into French under the name of "Bretton," and became the chief authority on the English laws and constitution for several generations. The *Song of Lewes*, by an Oxford friar, which is cited above (p. 152), puts strongly and clearly the views of the constitutional party in the main crisis of Henry III.'s reign.

3. The Church was richer than ever, and its hold on the people stronger even than before; for though it suffered for a time under the greedy grip of the kings and the heavy hand of the Pope's legates and tax-gatherers, yet the nation did not forget the patriotic stand made by such men as the Bishops of Lincoln, Worcester, and Chester, and Archbishops Stephen and Edmund, in the fight for the "liberties of this realm." The friars too, who were Church and Universities. eagerly welcomed, atoned by their unselfish zeal for the shortcomings of the monks and parish priests, and raised feelings of piety and charity which men showed by founding hospitals, building churches, going pilgrimages,

and freeing slaves and captives. The order and laws of the Church were kept up by the courts of the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons, who not only busied themselves with breaches of Church law by the clergy, but settled all cases touching *wills* and *marriage* as being *matters of conscience*; nay, the *canonists*, as the Church lawyers were called, even tried to wrest *contract* cases out of the domain of the royal courts into their own, but this was sternly checked by Henry II. and Edward I.

The *Universities*, which for long were among the chiefest stays of the Church, had now sprung into being. The abbey schools of Oseney and the friars' lectures at S. Mary's becoming under the Pope's bull a *studium generale* known as the *Corporation* or *University* of the scholars of Oxford, organized after the pattern of the famous University of Paris. And we have a set of charters by Henry III. and following kings dealing with the maintenance of good order and the supply of cheap bread and wine among the riotous and needy students. Many of these were so poor that they used to get their bread by begging under written leave given by the *Chancellor* (as the head of the University was called). Kindly rich men often left money to found "chests" for the use of the poorer students. The keepers of these chests lent money on pledge without interest for a year, so that a scholar could by this means keep himself till he was able to earn money by his learning. The scholars used to live in lodgings kept by masters of the University called Inns or Hotels; of these there were many, for as yet there were no colleges. Every scholar belonged to one of the two Nations or Societies into which the University was divided, according as each man came from the north or south of the Trent. Irishmen and Welshmen, of whom there were many at Oxford, belonged to the South Nation. Every year the members of each Nation chose an agent, called their *proctor*, from among the masters of the University to look after their interests. There were four *Faculties* or branches of learning—Theology, Law, Medicine, and the Arts. Scholars usually began with the Arts course, studying first the "threefold way," Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric, and then the "fourfold way," Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, which were called the *Seven Liberal Arts*. After four years' study, and passing an oral examination in these, the scholar became a Bachelor of Arts; and by working three more years, and giving proof of his knowledge, he was admitted by the Chancellor as Master or Doctor of Arts, and could give

lectures and take part in the government of the University as a full member. Some stopped here, but many now began to work at another *faculty*, becoming Bachelor and Doctor of Law, for instance, by so many years more of work. Books were very costly, so that most of the teaching was by lectures, the students writing down the teacher's words and learning the passages he dictated. The construing was done into French, which was then spoken by all gentlefolk in West Europe; but the books to be studied were Latin, and in Latin the Examinations were held and all the business of the University carried on, for Latin was the tongue of the learned and the clergy nearly all over Christendom. Students and teachers from one University often passed some time at another, whither they were led to hear some great teacher or to get rare books to read. There were always many English students at Paris, and some of the most famous *Schoolmen* or Philosophers of that University, such as Scotus, Hales, Kilwardby, and Ockham, were born in Britain. The Latin rhyme of the day runs—

“Fili nobilem, dum sunt iuniores
Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores.”

The friars soon flocked to the Universities to study Medicine and Theology, and the most famous teachers and writers were either Franciscans like Roger Bacon the Englishman, the foremost man of science of the whole middle ages, Bonaventura the Italian, and Lully the Catalan, or Dominicans like S. Thomas of Achino and the German Albert the Great. There were two great parties among the mediæval philosophers, some, called *Thomists*, following S. Thomas, the other, called *Scotists*, holding with Scotus. The best English teachers were of the latter party, which was favoured by the Franciscans.

4. Now that people were taking pleasure in reading and learning, there were of course many books written, and the Court of England was as noted for its historians and poets as for its lawyers and statesmen. In the reign of Henry II. the Treasurer *Richard* (1170-1192), one of the judges, *Roger of Howden* (1192-1200), and the Dean of S. Paul's (*Ralf of Dissay*), who had been one of the royal clerks, wrote Chronicles in Latin. The monks too, *Robert*, prior of S. Michael's Mount (died 1186), *William the Little* of Newbury (died about 1200), and many more wrote in English writers and English books, 1130-1280. the Year-Books, which were now regularly kept in every great abbey, the history of their own days. A more

entertaining historian than these is Gerald of Barry (born 1148, died 1223), the Archdeacon of Brecon. He studied at Paris, was chaplain to Henry II., tutor to his son John (with whom he went to Ireland), and companion to Archbishop Baldwin on his progress through Wales to preach the Crusade. In the course of his busy life he wrote four noteworthy books based on his own travels and collections—*The Description of Ireland*, 1186; *The Conquest of Ireland*, 1188; and *The Description of and Journey through Wales*, 1189-1208. The former of these he read with applause to crowds of listeners at Oxford, for his amusing style and shrewd wit were sure to please. Then we have the *Lives of Becket* by his friends, Herbert of Bosham, the faithful Grim, and the secretary, John of Salisbury (a learned man who died Bishop of Chartres), and many others in Latin, and by Warner, a French monk, in French verse. All these wrote of things that they saw and heard, but there were also famous poets and romance-writers who made tales and poems for gentlefolk's amusement. At the head of these comes Geoffrey, the Archdeacon of Monmouth, who finding that there was a great gap in the history of Britain, and that nothing was known about the old Welsh kings, set to work to fill this blank by dressing up all the tales of Welsh gods and heroes he could get, and so made out a long line of imaginary kings stretching from Brutus, the son of Æneas the Trojan, to Cædwalla, the ally of Penda. Among these kings are *Cymbeline* the hero and *Lear* the Sea-god (whose tales as told by Geoffrey have been made into noble plays by Shakespeare), and above all *Arthur*. Of this prince's legend (which is like that of Finn the Irish hero) Geoffrey got hints in an old book of Welsh traditions, but he has magnified him into a great king, fighting the heathen, setting up a brotherhood of knights, invading Gaul and Italy, conquering the Emperor of Rome, and finally perishing by the treason of his own kinsman. Geoffrey's romantic book, which he called *The History of the Britons*, was wonderfully well received. It soon spread in copies and translations into every land and tongue of Western Europe. Historians were delighted to have so much interesting information about an age hitherto dark (for nearly every one save William of Newbury took all Geoffrey wrote as pure truth): Englishmen were proud to have a king like Arthur to set against the French poets' hero, Charles the Great; and all readers were charmed by the beauty of the stories, which is so great that English poets to this day choose their subjects from among them. Geof-

frey's history was supplemented by other French and English court-writers, who took other Welsh stories as he had done, and dressed them up very beautifully into tales of chivalry or knighthood. Chief of these were the satirical poet Walter Map, a West-country clergyman of rank, who wrote the beautiful stories of *Lancelot* and the *Quest of the Holy Cup*; Robert of Borron, who told the tale of *Merlin*; Luces of Wast, who wrote *Tristram*; and Christian of Troyes, who amongst other stories has given that of *Enid*. All these were courtiers writing for the Court; but ere long Englishmen began to write in English tales founded on their own old traditions about *Wade* and *King Horn* and *Havelock the Dane* (Anlaf Ethelstan's foe), and later on to translate poems and prose-romances from the French.

Geoffrey dedicated his book to Robert of Gloucester. It was first put into French by *Geoffrey Gaimar*, who made a rhyming history of England for Queen Eleanor out of it and the Old English Chronicle; *Wace* of Jersey, a canon, used it for his verse-history, the *Brut* (called after "Brutus the Trojan"), and from this book of Wace's *Layamon* or *Lawman*, Leofnoth's son, the priest of Earnley on Severn, put it into English verse, c. 1205, in a long and stirring poem, written partly in the Old English alliterative metre, partly in the new French rhyming metre. This is the first long English poem that had been made since Æthelred's day, and it marks the beginning of a new era in English literature which lasted down to the Reformation, in which Englishmen took the French poets and Latin prose-writers for their models, and in which English books were part of the great mediæval literature which was common to all Christian countries.

From this time forward though many Englishmen still write in Latin for the learned and in French for the gentry, yet side by side with every French or Latin book there is an English one written, and little by little the bulk of books come to be penned in English. Thus side by side with Latin and French *sermons* and *books of prayer* we find sermons and even the Gospels in English by the end of Henry II.'s reign, and about 1215 the famous Gospel lessons of *Orm*, an Austin canon (which we have in his own hand and spelling), written in a regular blank verse without rhyme or alliteration. To Henry III.'s reign belong the *Nuns' Rule* of Bishop Poer, the *Castel of Love* of Grossetête (both in French and English), the earliest English play, *The Harrowing of Hell*, and the *Wise Sayings* ascribed to the old English

worthies King Alfred and Hending the Wise. Thus, too, turning to *History*, the same reign sees the last and best of the Latin chroniclers of the monasteries, the stern Richard of Devizes, the delightful Jocelin of Brakeland, the enthusiastic Monk of Melrose, and the three writers of St. Albans, which was then looked on as the storehouse and treasury of English history, the careful *Roger of Wendover*, the patriotic and outspoken *Matthew of Paris*, painter, traveller, and historian, and the sympathetic *William of Rishanger*, who gives the sorrowful tale of Simon's fall. And by the side of these learned writers we find another monk, *Robert of Gloucester*, who writes the Saints' Lives and an English history in verse for simple Englishmen, and tells how with his own eyes he saw the darkness that shrouded "the murder of Evesham."

Now, too, the English *poets* of the South and Midlands have learned the French song-metres, and pour forth songs and lays and carols and hymns on all kinds of subjects. At first they also composed in French and Latin, or even mixed all the three tongues in one song; but they soon found that English is as musical and as powerful as any foreign language, and kept more and more to it alone.

5. When people began to write in English again at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the English tongue had undergone great changes, and these changes had not taken place evenly throughout the land, so that there were, as Gerald of Barry noticed, three distinct *dialects* or forms of English, so different that a man from Carlisle would not understand a man from Guildford, and a man from Peterborough could hardly make himself understood by either. The *Southern dialect* was the most like the Old English in sound and in words; it had changed least. The *Northern dialect* had changed most; not only had the words been greatly shortened and clipped, and most of the verb and noun endings either gone altogether or fading away quickly, but the Northern words of the Danish and Norwegian settlers had already driven out and replaced a great number of common English words, so that most of the household words north of the Humber differed from those of the South and Midlands. The *Midland dialect* is the most notable for us, for from it springs the English we speak and write to-day. It had cut down its words almost as much as the *Northern dialect*; it had whittled its cases down to *e*, *en*, but it had, like the Southern dialect, kept most of the old stock of

Changes in the English tongue in the thirteenth century.

English words. Books were written and songs made in all these dialects for many years more; but little by little, as we shall see, the Midland prevailed, and became the accepted form of English in England as the Northern dialect became in Scotland, while the Southern dialect sank to an uncultivated peasant-speech.

The changes in English had hitherto been mostly in form, for even the words the Northmen brought with them were words such as the forefathers of the English had known and spoken. But in the thirteenth century crowds of wholly foreign words were brought into use, so that by 1300 about one-tenth of the words in common use in books were of French or Latin birth. How this came about it is easy to see: the friar, often a foreigner or brought up abroad, in his sermons would use the French or Latin words, which the people would soon get hold of; the doctor, the lawyer, the teacher, were obliged to use foreign words for medical, legal, and philosophical terms that had never been heard of in England, and their patients, clients, and pupils copied them; the merchant described his foreign wares in high-sounding foreign words; the lady who talked French at Court, and took her fashions from Paris or Bourdeaux, used French or Gascon words for the new dresses and the new dishes which came from abroad; the knight who had been a page at the royal court or the bishop's palace, and served oversea in his youth, had none but French terms for his business, war, and for his amusements, the joust and the chase. Even the builder and the engineer who came from Normandy or Flanders would bring in many words, which would spread among their workmen. Thus from all sides new words came pouring in during the whole thirteenth century, till the tide turned, and men began to look upon English as a rich and noble speech that could do very well without borrowing any more.

The following are specimens of thirteenth-century English from each dialect, at the beginning and end of Henry III.'s reign; the borrowed words in the *text* are italicized:—

SOUTHERN ENGLISH (*Bishop Poer's Nuns' Rule*, c. 1225).

Dame, thu ert i-weorred and thine von beodh so stronge
 [*Lady*, thou art warred-on, and thy foes *are* so strong
 thet tu ne meiht nonesweis, withuten *sukurs* af me,
 [that thou might in-no-way, without *help* of me,
 etfleon hore honden.
 [fly-from their hands.]

SOUTHERN ENGLISH (*Nicholas of Guildford*, c. 1280).

Vor hit is soth Alvred hit seide,
 [For it is *true* Alfred it said,
 And one hit mai in boke rede,
 [And one it may in book read,
 Evrich thing mai losen his godhede
 [Every thing may lose its goodness
 Mid un-methe and mid over-dede.
 [By want-of-measure and by excess.]

NORTHERN ENGLISH (*Psalms*, c. 1250).

Oppenes your yates wide : yhe that *princes* ere in *pride*
 [Open your gates wide ye that princes are of pride,]
 And yates of ai uphoven be yhe : and King of blisse
 [And gates of *eternity*, *uplifted* be ye and the-King of bliss
 income sal he.
 come-in shall he.]

MIDLAND ENGLISH (*Orm's Gospel Lessons*, 1215).

A consonant doubled shows that the vowel before it is short.

Icc hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh : goddspelless hallyhe lare
 [I have *turned* into English the-Gospel's holy lore
 Affterr thatt little witt thatt me : min Drihhtin hafethth
 [According-to the little wit that to-me my Lord hath
 lenedd.
 lent.]

Thu thohhtesst tatt itt mihhte wel : till mikell frame turrnenn
 [Thou thoughtest that it might well to *great profit* turn
 Yiff Ennglissh folk forr lufe off Crist : itt wolde yerne lernenn
 [If English folk for love of Christ it would *eagerly* learn,
 And follghenn itt and fillenn itt : withth thohht withth word
 [And follow it and *full-fill* it with thought, with word,
 withth dede.
 with deed.]

MIDLAND ENGLISH (*Grossetête's Castle of Love*, 1280).

On Englisch I chul mi *reson* schowen : for him that con not
 [In English I shall my *discourse* show for them that cannot
 i-knownen
understand

Nouther French ne Latyn : on Englisch I chul tellen him
 [Either French or Latin in English I shall tell them
 Wherefore the world was i-wrauht : and after hou he was
 [Wherefor the world was *made* and afterwards how it was
 bitauht
granted

Adam ure fader to be his : with al the merthe of *paradis*.
 [To-Adam our father to be his with all the mirth of paradise.]

It is well worth while to pay good heed to the books and the tongue of England in the thirteenth century, for in them we have the springs of all that has been said or sung by our best poets and writers ever since, and the thirteenth century is as much the fountain-head of modern English speech and books and style as it is of the English Constitution of to-day. Orm and Bishop Poer and the nameless song-writers and preaching friars were doing the same work in their way as Earl Simon and Bishop Grossetête did in theirs.

6. England had become richer during the long peace in spite of the civil war, and the towns had grown larger and more prosperous. London was now far the biggest city in England, its wealth and the number of its citizens are dwelt on by many writers. Its mayor, for Richard had given the burgesses the right of choosing their own chief officer, was an officer of power and dignity, who served with earls and barons as a warden of the Charter which the city banner-bearer, Fitz-Walter, had done so much to win. The levy which followed the red standard of S. Paul from the twenty-four city wards was a little host in itself. But besides its own citizens, London had a large foreign population. There were Norman shippers; Gascon wine merchants; Flemish wool-buyers; Lombard goldsmiths, money-lenders, and middlemen; Danish and Norwegian sailors, who brought fur and fish and fir timber in exchange for cloth and wine, and enjoyed all rights of trade the same as Englishmen by old custom from Cnut's days; Easterlings, whose warehouse or "counter" was the centre of the large Baltic trade; and Jews, who had their own laws and customs and rulers in the Jewry under the king's particular order. As in Eastern towns to-day, those of a trade lived together, and each little lane had its own craft, to which the names of the City streets still bear witness. In Cornhill were the clothiers, in Coleman Street the tailors, in Candlewick Street the drapers; scribes and lawyers dwelt in Chancery Lane, goldsmiths in Westcheap, in the Vintry the wine merchants, the pepperers or grocers in Soper's Lane [Queen Street]: by S. Mary's Axe lived the skinners; near Newgate the butchers, in Lothbury the braziers, the smiths and tanners at Holborn, and by the Fleet the sea-coal dealers and lime-burners had their wharfs. The great

Towns and
craft-guilds.

market was Cheapside, which had been the centre of the old British Londinium and the forum of the Roman Augusta. At Smithfield cattle were stalled and sold; at the river-side were the fishmongers' stalls; the cookshops lined East-cheap; taverns and alehouses abounded.

Town life of the thirteenth century centred round the merchant-guilds and craft-guilds; the latter were now forming in nearly every trade. They bought the right of making their own bylaws for the good ordering of the trade and the benefit of its members. A boy taking to a particular craft was first bound *apprentice* to learn his trade with a *master-craftsman*. When he had served his time he became a free *journeyman* (from the French, *journée*, a day's work), who could work for any master who chose to employ him at regular wages by the day. As soon as he had earned enough money to set up for himself, he paid his fee, showed his *masterpiece*, a test bit of work which proved his fitness, and was enrolled as *master-craftsman*. There was a guild-feast at least once a year, to which all the guild brethren came dressed in the livery of the company; and the brethren besides looking to the good of their trade, took care to provide a handsome burial and due services for companions who died, and succour for those who were in bodily distress or poverty. Women were companions of the guild just like men. In London and other big cities the burgesses and merchants oftentimes showed jealousy of the craft-guilds, but the latter managed to hold their own in the end. From 1262-1265 the commonalty of the city forced the aldermen and richer folk to take Thomas Thomasson as mayor, and again in 1272 they would have Walter Hervey against the will of the aldermen.

Other towns, though they could not equal London, were yet growing in size and wealth also. Winchester, beside its great yearly fair, has a large wine trade; Worcester is famous for its wheat, Hereford for its cattle; Canterbury has no small fish trade; Exeter exports copper and tin; at Stour-bridge Common by Cambridge was held the biggest fair in England; Boston too had its fair, which was the scene of a raid by a gang of gentlemen robbers in 1288, wherein the town was fired, and more damage done, it was said, than all the wealth of England could repay; Yarmouth was the greatest seaport in the east as Bristol was in the west; merry Carlisle and lordly Durham were capitals of large districts; York and Lincoln were the biggest northern towns, and Norwich was the Manchester of mediæval England.

We hear more than once of terrible riots in the towns, where the burgesses, upon some breach of the charters they had bought from king or bishop, rose in arms for redress. Thus the good folk of Bury carried on a fifty years' feud with the monks of St. Edmund's Minster, in which they appealed both to arms and to law; and in 1272 the 30,000 burgesses of Norwich burned the cathedral and sacked the priory, killing the monks' servants, for which the king fined the town 3000 marks and had many of the burgesses drawn and hanged. But he did not dare to take away their rights or charter, or to justify the monks for the evil deeds which had angered the townsmen. King John was very favourable to the east-coast towns and the Cinque Ports; but his son was no lover of the towns, and had a marked dislike to the Londoners, which they did not fail to return.

7. All towns changed much outwardly in the thirteenth century. Henry Ethelwin's son, the first mayor, put forth an order in London after a great fire, that in future all houses must be tiled, that party-walls must be at least sixteen feet high and two feet thick, and that chimneys must be properly built of brick or stone for the greater safety of the city. This by degrees led to the replacement of the old straw-thatched daub-and-wattle cots by little stoutly-built one-storied houses. The building of new churches, chapels, friaries went on fast, and many wealthy aldermen or privileged aliens began to build large stone houses. The new *Pointed style* of architecture was brought in from France, which soon ousted the old *Roman* or *Round-arch* style which had prevailed for so long, for it was stronger, lighter, and allowed of greater variety. The marks of the new style are the pointed arch (from which it is now named), the long, narrow, lancet-headed windows grouped together, the pillars made up of fine clustered shafts, with beautiful deeply-carven capitals, the lofty roofs raised on arch-buttressed walls, and the tall graceful stone spires. Among the best examples of the *Early Pointed style* is the Cathedral at Salisbury, raised by Bishop Poer, of which Robert of Gloucester sings:—

New fashions in
building, arms,
and dress.

"In the year of grace

Twelve hundred and twenty-two, I count, in the fair place
Of the noble minster of Salisbury they laid down the first stone,
Than which men know in Christendom fairer work none.
There was the Legate Pandulf, as all would have it done,
He laid the first five stones: first for the Pope laying one;

The second for our young king [Henry III.]; the third, as men say,
For the good Earl of Salisbury, William la longue espee;
The fourth for the Countess; the fifth he set, 'tis said,
For the Bishop of Salisbury, and then no more he laid."

There is also the choir of Lincoln Minster, the work of S. Hugh, who was an industrious church-builder, Bishop Eustace's porch at Ely, and Walter of Merton's chapel at Oxford. Henry III. himself was a lover of fine buildings. Under his eyes the King's Hall at Winchester was finished, the Tower embankment made, Windsor Castle walled, and the Abbey of Westminster rebuilt splendidly round a magnificent tomb which his Italian workmen put up for the Confessor. We hear too how Henry envied his friend Louis the beautiful little chapel of the Holy Crown which the latter had reared in Paris. Of castle-building there was far less than under the Norman kings, but the castles which were built were larger and finer than any yet seen, especially those upon the Welsh marches. A few Border strongholds were fortified, such as Berwick, strengthened by Alexander II.; Wark, raised by William Laymond; a few strong positions secured, such as Kenilworth, Montfort's refuge, and Rochester, the royal fortress; but none could rival the castle on the rock of Andelys, which Richard I. himself designed and built. Indeed the need for private castles was but little felt in England, where they were always objects of dread and hatred to the yeoman and the burgess, and of suspicion to the king. The engineers of this time, with the experience they gained in the Crusades, were well skilled in breaching and undermining castles, though the use of cannon was hardly yet known north of the Alps.

In the old-fashioned war-gear which had been so long unchanged changes were now made which led the way to the gradual disuse of mail in favour of plate armour. To the simple mail-coat were added hose, gloves, and a hood of mail; the helmet was made heavier and closed, save for slits for eyesight and breathing; a breastplate was beginning to be worn in jousts; the shield was lessened to a small triangle; and pieces of hardened leather or of brass or steel-plate were worn on the shoulders and over the knees and elbows, where the mail was weakest. Horsemen bore heavy cutlasses, maces of steel and iron, hammers and picks, and their lances were longer and heavier than before, and used underhand. Englishmen began to take to the longbow, a weapon the power of which was not known before, and

our yeoman archers were soon to be acknowledged the best infantry that West Europe had yet sent forth.

The science of Heraldry, a regular system of marks by the bearing of which a knight might be known and his family clearly shown, was now worked out, in imitation most likely of the emblems of family and office borne by the Saracens. Shield, pennon, and horse-trappings were painted with the owner's mark or *cognizance*, while he himself bore his *coat of arms*, a knee-long, sleeveless frock of linen painted or silk-broidered with the same emblems. Thus the English kings took for their arms three golden leopards on a red shield; the French kings bore silver lily-flowers sprinkled over a blue shield; the Scottish king a rearing red lion within an open red border ornamented with lily-flowers on a gilded shield, just as they still stand in one quarter of the royal arms; the Hastings family bore a lady's sleeve of red upon a gilded shield; the Marshals a red lion on a ground half gold, half green; the Clares three red gables on a gold shield; the Montforts a white double-tailed lion rearing on a red shield.

The fashion of noble men and women's clothes was also changed during the thirteenth century by fresh forms of dresses and new kinds of silk stuff, such as velvet, samite, sendal, baldekin, and of costly furs brought from the East. The shape and make of kirtle or gown, hose and shoes, was still the same; the upper garments varied much. A married lady's dress was shaped like that of a nun's now, with wimple, veil, overgown, and long round mantle; but the wimple was of lawn, the veil of silk, the mantle and gown of precious stuff and bright colours. In winter overgown or surcoat and mantle were furred throughout. Gentlemen wore gowns or surcoats falling below the knee, with embroidered hems. Richard had one of pink silk covered with silver moons and stars. Henry III. had one of purple samite with the three leopards worked in gold on the back and front. Sometimes they wore shorter frocks called *blouses*, embroidered at the neck and deeply jagged at the edges of the skirt and sleeves. Both ladies and gentlemen wore hose of fine dyed cloth, and shoes of stained leather, often beautifully embroidered in fretwork. Travellers carried low round hats in bad weather, and clergymen would often have a light linen cap or coif over their tonsured heads; but as a rule all men and unwedded ladies went bareheaded, with a chaplet of flowers on holidays and merry-makings, and at other times a cord or ribbon to keep the hair off the

face. A new fashion was coming up among women of binding their hair upon the sides of the head in a net of gold or silver wire bound round with ribbons. Gold and silver and bronze brooches were worn and shoes were buckled or laced, for buttons were not yet used.

8. It is difficult to get at the average cost of living in the thirteenth as compared with former centuries, for tillage was still so rude that a fourfold return was reckoned a good yield, and crops often failed altogether, so that prices varied greatly. Thus the average price of wheat was 4s. 6d. per quarter, but there are years when it sunk as low as 1s. and others when it rose to 8os. Still on the whole prices seem to have risen since the time of Domesday. A skilled outdoor labourer was paid about 2d. a day, an ordinary workman 1d.; the price of a bullock was about 8s. 6d., of a pig 6d. An acre of good plough-land was worth 6d., meadow-land 3s. or 4s., and wood 1s. per acre. The labourer at harvest-time was allowed two herrings, a quartern barley-loaf, ale to drink, and milk for cheese; his ordinary food was porridge of oatmeal, rye or barley bread, skim-milk, and soft cheese, and rarely he had a meal of stock-fish or of bacon, or perhaps a morsel of salt mutton, or a dish of fresh fish from the river. Game or fresh meat he never tasted. In the towns, though barley-bread and oatmeal porridge were the staple food, the burgess would have meat and kail, and pastry and puddings, and drink ale to his meals instead of water or milk. The population seems to have reached the number of 3,000,000.

Food, cost of land
and living, popu-
lation.

ENGLISH MEDIAEVAL CONSTITUTION.

TABLE I.—*Central Administration.*

CINGIS HIRD [King's Household].

CURIA REGIS [King's Court].

In its collective capacity it forms
CONSILIUM REGIS [King's Council].

Consisting of—

King, Chief Justiciar, Great Officers of Crown, a Chief Councillor, and a number of Redesmen *or* Councillors, who were paid regular wages.

Its work is—

- a. To advise King.
- b. To carry on the Government.
- c. To hear petitions and appeals on law and other matters.
- d. To issue ordinances or proclamations.
- e. To manage the finance of the realm.
- f. To deal with trade and with aliens.
- g. To see that the peace was lawfully kept.
- h. To prepare measures for Parliament to deal with.

—
This is our **Privy Council**, of which the **Ministry** or **Cabinet** are the Managing Committee, as it were.

From the **Privy Council** sprung in later times several new Courts and Boards, such as the

Star Chamber,
Court of Wards,
Council of Wales,
Council of the North,
and the more modern and still existing
Board of Trade.
Council of Education.
Judicial Committee.

In its various departments, presided over by or formed of the Great Officers of the Crown, it deals with the

- A. Revenue.
- B. Justice.¹
- C. Army and Navy.
- D. Royal Household.

as follows:—

A. Revenue.

CINGISHORD, *later* SCACCARIUM
REGIS [King's Exchequer].

Consisting of—

Chief Justiciar, Treasurer, Chancellor,
staff of Barons and Officers.

Sitting in—

Upper Exchequer *or* Tally Office.
Lower Exchequer *or* Receipt Office.

Its work is—

- a. To receive taxes from Sheriff.
- b. To pay out money for King.
- c. To decide Revenue cases.

Whence arises a regular EXCHEQUER
COURT (See B. iii.).

¹ *N.B.*—Some parts of the country long had Courts of their own, and did not have recourse to the King's Courts (B. I., II., III., IV.), such are

The COUNTIES PALATINE.
The CINQUE PORTS.

The FORESTS were not under the Common Law, but governed by separate rules of their own.

The Exchequer was put in order by Roger of Salisbury (Henry I.), and re-settled after the anarchy of Stephen's reign by his son, the Bishop of Ely (Henry II.).

There were kept Domesday Book, the Chancery and Treasury or Pipe Rolls, and other Accounts.

B. Justice.

The Chief Justiciar and staff of Judges.
Sitting in the Three Common Law Courts—

- i. CURIA or BANCUS REGIS [KING'S BENCH],
To deal with Placita Regis (Crown Cases).
- ii. COMMUNIS BANCUS [COMMON PLEAS],
To deal with Placita Communia (Cases between Subjects).
- iii. CURIA SCACCARII [EXCHEQUER COURT],
To deal with Placita de Scaccario (Revenue Cases).

and

Chief Justiciar, Chancellor, and staff of Masters in Chancery, *who*

- a. Issued writs.
- b. Heard petitions on law matters.

- iv. *Whence arose* CANCELLARIUM REGIS [*Chancery Court*],
To deal with cases in which the three Common Law Courts gave no relief, according to fairness or equity.

Chief Justiciar and staff of Judges *to hold*
v. FOREST COURTS,

To deal with Placita Forestæ (Cases concerning Forest Laws and Customs).

Edward I. instead of appointing one Chief Justiciar for all the Courts, gave each of the *three Common Law Courts* a separate president and staff.

Chief Justiciar of England to King's Bench.

Chief Justiciar to Common Pleas.

Chief Baron to Exchequer Court (for the Judges of this Court are called Barons).

When the office of Chief Justiciar was done away with, Edward I. gave all his equitable work to the Chancellor, and to relieve him of his duties at the Exchequer Board created a separate *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, our present Finance Minister.

C. War.

- i. Earl Marshal and his staff,
To (a) Keep order and do justice in the Court and Household.
(b) Aid in the King's Army.
(c) Decide cases of honour and chivalry.

Whence came the MARSHALSEA COURT *and the* HERALDS' COLLEGE *or* COLLEGE OF ARMS.

- ii. Lord High Constable and staff,
To act as Commander-in-Chief *and leader of the feudal levy.*
Whence the CONSTABLE'S COURT.

- iii. Lord High Admiral and staff,
To (a) Keep order and do justice in King's Navy in peace and war.
(b) Judge law cases connected with sea, ships, sailors, etc., in the ADMIRALTY COURT.

Edward I. first appointed three Admirals, but in Edward III. and Richard II.'s time, and after 1406 always, there was one Lord High Admiral of England, commanding-in-chief the four fleets of N.E., S.W., Ireland, and Aquitaine.

The *Earl Marshalsea* is an hereditary office now held by the Duke of Norfolk.

The *Constableness* was also hereditary, but it is now in abeyance, like the *High Stewardship*. In our days the duties of these officers are fulfilled by the ordinary courts or by the War Office and Horse Guards.

The *Admiralty* and *Treasury* are now always *in commission*, i.e. held by a board or committee, Lords of Admiralty and Lords of Treasury, instead of by one man.

D. Household.

- Lord High Steward and officers,
To see to King's food and living, *and* control his household.

- Lord High Chamberlain and officers,
To see to King's lodging *and* control his household.

There were other household officers, such as Falconer, Huntsman, Butler, Champion, etc., which are of less importance.

ENGLISH MEDIÆVAL CONSTITUTION.

TABLE II.

The late English Kings' MICYL GEMOT [Great Moot], <i>consisting of</i>	. . .	{ Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots. Aldermen or Earls and big Thanes. Such smaller Thanes and Freeholders <i>as chose to come.</i>
The Norman and early Angevin Kings' MAGNUM CONCILIUM [Great Council of the Realm], <i>consisting of</i>	{ Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Masters of Orders. Earls and greater Barons. All lesser Barons and Knights <i>who held their land directly of the King.</i>
The thirteenth-century, etc., PARLIAMENT [Deliberative Assembly], <i>consisting of the</i>	{ Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Masters of Orders. Earls and Barons. <i>Chosen representatives of the Clergy</i> , called Proctors, from each diocese and chapter. <i>Chosen representatives of the King's</i> lesser freehold tenants-knights from each county [two from each] since 1213. <i>Chosen representatives of the free citizens</i> and burgesses from the free towns and boroughs [two from each borough, four from each city]. First called in 1265, and pretty regularly since 1295.

which gradually during the reigns of the Edwards formed into

THE THREE ESTATES.

The CONVOCA-
TION of the two Pro-
vinces of York and Canterbury, each
consisting of—

An Upper House

{ Archbishops.
Bishops.
Abbots.
{ Proctors or
Agents of
Lower Clergy.

A Lower House

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Consisting of—

Spiritual Peers { Archbishops, Bishops,
Abbots, Masters
of Orders.

Temporal Peers { Earls.
Barons.

The Judges and Great Officers sat with
the Lords, but did not vote unless they
were barons by holding land.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Consisting of—

Knights of Shire.
Citizens and Burgesses.

In the counties the *electors* were all
freeholders.

The *electors* were—

At first, knights holding of the King.

Next, knights whether holding of King
or not.

Latterly, any freeholder "of the better
sort" of the county.

In the cities and boroughs the *electors*
were either—

The freeholders of the place, or

The guild-brethren of the place, or
The corporation.

The *electors*, at first any citizen, after-
ward any freeholder in England.

The *Bishops and Archbishops and
Abbots*, as holding land of the King, sat
also in the House of Lords, but after
Edward I.'s reign the *Proctors* did not sit
with the Commons as they had at first, but
in *Convocation*.

The *business of Parliament* was—

1. To counsel the King on all important matters.
2. To give advice as to laws, and to consent or refuse consent to such laws as were brought forward by the King and his ministers, for without the consent of Parliament no laws can be made.
3. To vote taxes, for without the consent of Parliament no tax can be laid on.
4. To form a High Court in certain important cases.

BOOK IV.

ENGLISH KINGS OF IMPERIAL POLICY.

CHAPTER I.

Edward I. of Westminster. 1272-1307.

1. After visiting the King of Sicily, Edward went to see the Pope at Orvieto, and thence passing through North Italy, he came over Mont Cenis on his way into France. As he was travelling by Châlons, the earl of that place challenged him and his men to a tournament. Nothing loath, the prince agreed, and on the day set the struggle began between the English and Burgundian knights. The earl charged through the English array till he reached Edward, when, dropping his sword, he clasped the prince round the neck with his right arm, and tried to pull him from his seat. But Edward sat still without moving till he felt that the earl had got firm hold, and then he clapped spurs to his horse, and dragging the unlucky Burgundian out of his saddle, shook him off by main force, so that he fell headlong to the ground. The Burgundians grew angry when they saw their lord's overthrow, and the game turned to earnest. Ere long the English knights were hard pressed, and many men were wounded and slain. And now the English archers, who stood outside the lists looking on, drew their bows and shot down the foreign knights' horses. The earl set upon Edward again, but the prince handled him so roughly that he was glad to surrender himself his prisoner, whereupon the fighting ceased, but not before good knights had fallen on either side.

After this *little battle of Châlons* Edward went to meet

Philip the French king, and did homage to him "for all the lands he ought to hold of him." He then passed into Gascony to put down a rising which was headed by Gaston of Bearn. Next autumn, having made an agreement with the Countess of Flanders on behalf of English traders to the Flemish towns, he crossed to England, August 2, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster, with his wife, amid great rejoicings. The Duke of Brittany, and Alexander, the King of Scots, with their consorts, Edward's sisters, his brother Edmund (called the King of Sicily), and his mother, Eleanor, were all at the feast. There were great halls of timber built for the guests, who were many more than could be seated in Westminster Hall, the fountains at Cheapside ran all day with red and white wine instead of water, and two hundred fine horses were turned loose among the crowd to be scrambled for.

2. But Edward soon turned his mind to his royal duties. While he was away, the regents, Walter, Archbishop of York, Roger Lord Mortimer, and Robert Burnel, had ruled well and kept the peace. By the help of Burnel, whom he made chancellor, of John Kirkby the treasurer, and of Francis Accursi the counsellor, son of the famous Italian lawyer, Edward now set about devising new laws for the common good of the whole realm, awaking old Acts which had fallen asleep during the troubles of the realm, putting right those things which had gone wrong through misuse, and making clear those rules and customs which had grown dark and hard to understand. Year after year till 1293 King and Parliament laboured for the commonwealth, for it was Edward's pride and pleasure to follow the example of his great kinsmen, S. Louis of France, Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and the Emperor Frederick the Wonder of the World, all of whom were famous for their wise laws and the good order they kept in their kingdoms. And it was in Edward's reign that the English constitution, which had been fixed by Henry II., was finally put into the shape in which it remained unaltered for two centuries.

In 1274 an *inquiry* into the rights of the feudal lords and of the counties was ordered. In 1275 was passed the *First Statute of Westminster*, which re-enacts many of the best clauses of the Great Charter, fixes the amount of the feudal burdens, aids, and reliefs, declares that common justice shall be done without respect of persons, and ordains that elections shall be free, forbidding any man to trouble them by force, craft, or

Edward's
reforms,
1274-1290.

threat. In 1276 the *Rageman Statute* appointed judges to settle all suits touching encroachments made on the land or rights of private persons since 1261. In 1278 the *Statute of Gloucester* regulated the private courts of justice and the lords' rights in the hundred and manor courts, and an order was given to the judges to inquire, under a writ called *Quo Warranto*, by what right the lords held the private jurisdictions which they claimed. For the king wished to bring the whole land as far as possible under his own courts and judges. But the great lords did not like to lose their power over their tenants, and when the Earl of Warenne was called before the judges to prove the rights he claimed, he pulled out an old rusty sword, saying, "See, my lords, this is my warrant. My ancestors came over with William and won their lands with the sword, and with the sword I will keep the same against any one that wishes to seize them. For the king did not overcome and win this country by himself, but our forefathers were with him as partners and helpers." And many of the other nobles said that the earl had spoken well, so that the king when he came to hear of it, fearing their displeasure, let this matter drop. But in the same year all gentlemen who had land to the value of £20 a year were ordered to receive knighthood or pay a heavy fine. The nobles did not like this measure either, for it brought their tenants into contact with the king, and showed them that Edward meant to rule for the good of all rather than for the benefit of a few great folks. One day as the king went out of Parliament to hear evening service there were some of the nobles' sons waiting on him as pages, and he began talking to them. "What do you boys talk about when you are waiting outside the hall where I am in counsel with your fathers?" The boys looked at each other and did not speak, till one, bolder than the rest, answered, "You will not be angry, sir, if I tell you?" "No, indeed," said Edward. "Then, my lord, we amuse ourselves with singing, and this is what we sing:—

'The king he wants to get our gold !
The queen would like our lands to hold !
And the writ *Quo Warranto*
Will give us all enough to do !'

In 1278 Pope Nicholas III. sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury to Rome and made him a cardinal, and the king had the chancellor, Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath, chosen to fill his place ; but the Pope did not wish to have one who was mixed up with State affairs as head of the English Church,

so he quashed the election, and set John of Peckham, a Grey Friar, a pupil of Adam Marsh, a Doctor of Theology of Paris, and a Reader of Oxford, in Robert's room. Brother John was kindly, generous, hard-working, zealous for his order and for his see, a lover of peace, a good scholar, and a famous hymn-writer. He tried to strengthen the power of the Church courts by certain Articles passed at a Church Council at Reading, 1279. But Edward made him give up these Articles, and passed the *Statute of Mortmain*, which forbade persons granting or receiving lands so that they came into *mortmain* [the dead hand], *i.e.* became the property of corporations as endowments. This Act was especially aimed against the clergy, who were now the owners of more than a quarter of the land of England. For not only did pious people willingly give their estates to monasteries or churches, but many who wished to escape from feudal obligations would surrender their lands to a religious body, bargaining to get it back to be held of the new owners on easier terms. However, the archbishop held another Church Council at Lambeth, 1281, and there declared that all cases touching Church patronage, or property held by Churchmen, belonged solely to the Church courts. But the king, justly angry at this encroachment on the rights of his royal courts, compelled him to drop these claims also.

In 1283 the *Statute of Merchants*, giving traders easier means of getting their debts, was put forth, and in 1284 the *Statute of Rhuddlan*, which settled what kind of cases were to be tried in the Exchequer Court. In 1285 the two important *Statutes of Westminster the Second* and of *Winchester* were passed. The first made great alterations in the land law, enabling estates to be settled in a family from parent to child for ever, by the clause *De Donis Conditionalibus* [of Gifts on Condition] amending the law of dower, of Church patronage, of mortmain, and making great improvements in the assize and manor courts. The second was meant to put down the lawless bands of clubmen, old soldiers, outlaws, and sturdy beggars who had taken to robbing in gangs, and living upon the country. It makes the Hundred responsible for robberies committed within it, deals with the keeping of watchmen in towns and villages, the pursuit of thieves, the safety of the highroads, provides for the proper arming and calling out of the militia, and forbids markets to be held in churchyards. In the same year Edward by his decree and the writ of *Circumspecte agatis* settled the proper province of the Church courts, confining them, as of old, to cases touch-

ing wills of goods, marriages, perjury, libel, tithes, Church matters, and wrongs done to clergymen. In 1289, in consequence of complaints against the judges for bribery, they were tried before a commission under Burnel, and all save two found guilty, turned from the bench, fined, and banished. Next year the *Statute of Westminster the Third* was passed, by a clause of which (*Quia Emptores*) every freeman is allowed to sell his land, or part of it, as he likes, but the man to whom he sells it is to hold of the seller's lord and not of the seller. This Act stopped the making of new manors, and tended to bring most landholders bit by bit into direct tenancy from the Crown.

But with this wise measure was passed a cruel and unrighteous one, namely, the expulsion of the Jews from England. They were given three months to leave the realm, they were allowed to take all their movables with them, and had free passes to France at the king's expense. More than 16,000 left the country. A number of the rich London Jews were treacherously drowned on the shoals at the Thames mouth by the captain of the ship that was to take them over sea. But his wickedness was found out, and he was tried and hanged. The people were glad that the Jews had gone, for they did not see that it was unwise to drive away clever and wealthy merchants who added to the riches of the country, and only remembered the high prices they had paid to them, and the strict law of debt which the Jews had used against them. It was more than 350 years ere the Jews were allowed to set foot in England again. With this Act the first period of Edward's reign closes, and he was now called away to do other work no less important, however, his greatest and most needful reforms had been successfully carried out, and were working well. The deaths of those who had gone through the burden and heat of the day with him—his beloved wife Eleanor (died 1290), the "friend of the English, the peacemaker, the stay of the realm," his trusty and far-sighted minister Burnel (died 1292), and his faithful treasurer Kirkby (died 1290)—left him to face his new troubles almost alone, for of all his old friends only Anthony Beck was left, the rich and wise Bishop of Durham, whom the Pope in 1305 made Patriarch of Jerusalem, because of his wealth and power.

3. While engaged upon his reforms, Edward had also been much taken up with the troubles which ended with the death of the last North Welsh princes and the resettlement of their conquered country. How this came about must be

briefly told. Since the death of Cadwalla in 688 the Welsh had never been able to cope with the English, and the sovereignty which that king had for a time wielded over the whole Welsh race was broken up. The Northumbrian kings soon pushed the Northern Welsh of Cumberland and Strathclyde so hard that the princes and noblemen sought refuge in Wales, leaving their land to sink into a dependency of the North English or Scottish kings. Its after history has been noticed. After suffering from the inroads and settlement of the Northmen, it was given as a fief by Edmund to Malcolm I., was the cause of war between Ethelred and his vassal Malcolm II., was for a while almost independent under Thorfin and other earls of Northern blood, was seized by William the Red, and finally cut in two by Henry II., the southern part, south of Solway, becoming English, while the northern, Strathclyde, Galloway, and the Dales, became part of the Lowlands of the new Scottish kingdom which David had organized after the plans of Henry of England.

The Welsh
kingdoms—
Cumberland,
Cornwall, and
Wales—688-
1272.

The kingdom of the Corn-Welsh had been lessened step by step by the bands of armed West Saxon colonists who settled Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, one after another, till Ine (*circa* 700), who himself (probably through intermarriages of the West Saxon and South Welsh royal families) had Welsh blood in his veins, fixed the Tone as the frontier between the two races. The great West Saxon kings finally subdued the little Celtic kingdom, Athelstan's expedition to the Scilly Isles (939) being almost the last notice of the series of victories by which it was achieved. On the whole, the people seem to have been content with their new rulers. For though there was hard fighting in Ecgberht's days, when the Corn-Welsh called in the Danes to help them against the English kings, yet it was from the men of Devon that Alfred got succour in his sorest need, while the Welsh favourites and the Welsh alliances of Alfred's descendants down to Eadgar's days, and the marked preference the West Saxon princes showed for the western part of their realm, prove that there was sympathy between them and their Celtic subjects, a sympathy which was tested in the struggle of the house of Godwine against the Conqueror in 1067.

Wales proper was the strongest Celtic state in Britain, even after Offa (*circa* 780) had bounded it by his dyke, which runs from Chester to Chepstow behind the Wye, Severn, and Dee. For a brief while King Roderick the Great (*circa* 840) united

the country under his head-kingship, but at his death his three sons became each independent in his own little tribal realm, and there were kings of North Wales at Aberfraw, of South Wales at Cardigan, and of Powys or Mid-Wales at Mathraval; while the smaller princedoms of Brecon, Gwent [Monmouth], and Morganwg [Glamorgan] were practically ruled by their own lords. As in Ireland, these states were continually at war with each other, or with foes from without—Irish pirates from Leinster and Munster, Northern searovers from Waterford and Dublin and the Orkneys and Man, and English forays led by West Saxon or Marchland aldermen and kings. Sorely pressed by the Danes, the Welsh princes of North Wales, Brecon, and South Wales chose King Alfred as their patron “father and lord.” And this relationship between the Welsh kinglets and the English head-kings was kept up to the very days of Edward I. The hereditary friendship and alliance which seems to have existed between some of the South Welsh families and churches and the West Saxon kings may have had something to do with bringing this about. In the next reign we hear of Ethelfleda taking the Welsh Queen of Brecon prisoner and storming her town, and driving Ingimund the Northman (whom the North Welsh had called in to help them against her) out of Chester, the waste Roman city which he had made his stronghold, back to Ireland again. Yet Edward ransoms the South Welsh bishop from the Danes, and the Welsh princes bind themselves to him as they had to his father. For another short space (*circa* 910) there was a head-king in Wales. Howel the Good, the grandson of Roderick, a peaceful ruler and a wise lawgiver, who “by the help of Blegwryd his clerk, and Morgeneu his judge,” drew up a set of rules for the court and laws for the people, which were passed by a great moot of the clergy and free-men of Wales at White House by the Tav in South Wales. Howel is said to have made a pilgrimage to Rome to get these laws approved by the Pope. However, after Howel’s death the peace he had kept was broken, and there were deadly wars between North Wales, South Wales, and Gwent just as before.

During the next century the North Welsh princes were closely allied to the house of Leofric for two generations, but this alliance brought the Welsh high-king, Gruffydd, the son of Llewelyn, into a war in which he was defeated by Harold Godwine’s son, and slain by his own subjects, his successors hastening to acknowledge the overlordship of

Edward the Confessor. Gruffydd's widow, Earl Ælfgar's daughter, was married to Harold in 1066, a match meant to bind the rival houses of Leofric and Godwine together.

After the progress of William to S. Davids in 1081, when he received the homage of the Welsh princes, the complete subjection of the Welsh Church to Canterbury under Anselm, and the death of Rhys, the last prince who bore the name of king, 1196, the native rulers of Wales sink to the state of powerful and troublesome border barons. The Constable of Chester and the Earl of Shrewsbury were the perpetual foes of the princes of Snowdonia (North Wales) and Powys; while South Wales was conquered piece by piece by Norman knights, adventurers, who, intermarrying with the Welsh nobles, and profiting by their feuds, soon got a hold upon the land, which they made good by building strong castles, and filling them with hired soldiers, Flemings and Normans and English. These *Lords Marchers*, amongst whom the houses of Clare, Braos, and Mortimer were the most powerful and renowned, formed a distinct part of the English baronage, having full feudal rights over their land, which no lords in England ever had. The settlement of the Flemish soldiers of Henry I. by Milford Haven, the expedition of Strongbow, Fitz-Stephen, Fitz-Gerald, and the knight of Barry to Ireland from South Wales, and the part played by Mortimer in the Barons' War, are perhaps the most striking features of the March history down to Edward I.'s coronation.

The princes of North Wales also had a fixed course of their own, they were the firm allies of the barons' party against the English suzerain, who favoured their eager enemies, the Lords Marchers. Only the difficulty of carrying on a campaign in the roadless, hilly, thickly-wooded Land of Snowdon, and the skilful use the Welsh made of the political differences between the English kings and their barons, could, however, have saved them from complete overthrow. One after another, Henry I., Henry II., and John, baffled by the obstacles of mountain warfare, were glad to accept their poor and restless vassals' submission and homage on easy terms.

The last three lords of North Wales deserve more than bare mention. Llewelyn Jorwerth's son, though he married a daughter of John, yet joined the army of God and the Church, and is, like Alexander, the King of Scots, another of John's sons-in-law, specially named in the Great Charter. As the ally of Hubert de Burgh and the Marshals in the next reign, he played the same wise part. His son and suc-

cessor, David (1240-1246), had to buy the help of the English king against his brother Gruffydd by the surrender of the *Four Cantreds* or *Hundreds*, a district on his north-eastern border, 1241. In 1244, however, he tried to establish the independence of his principality by giving Wales up to the Pope, agreeing to hold it as his vassal at an annual rent of 500 marks. But the Pope would not risk his friendship with the English kings for the sake of Wales, and did little to help the Welsh in their struggles for freedom. On David's death, his nephew, Llewelyn Gruffydd's son, had to make good his claim to the throne against his three brethren. Owen he imprisoned, but Roderick and David fled to the English court, where they were well received. Henry III. had granted the *Four Hundreds* to his son Edward, and as Llewelyn allied himself, according to his foregoers' wont, with the Montforts and Despencers, he became opposed to his kinsman the king, and was soon brought into conflict with young Edward, who was at this time the companion in arms and fast friend of Lord Mortimer and the Marchers, the Welsh prince's rivals. A revolt in the Four Hundreds against English misrule, a bitter border war year after year, increased the feud between them, which was not lessened by the presence of Welsh troops in Montfort's army at Lewes and Evesham. However, a peace was made in 1267, to which Edward agreed, by which the Four Hundreds were given back to Llewelyn, who was to pay 25,000 marks and do homage to the English king, who acknowledged him as Prince of Wales, and liege lord of all Welsh barons save Meredydd, the son of Rhys, who claimed to hold straight of Henry as Prince of South Wales.

4. At the beginning of Edward's reign Llewelyn was called upon six times to come to England to do homage; but he would not leave Wales unless the English king sent his brother, Earl Edmund of Gloucester, and the Chief-Justice into Wales as hostages for his life. For he said that his open enemies, David and Roderick (his exiled brothers), and Gruffydd, Prince of Powys (whom he had thrust from his land), were ever at King Edward's table and sometimes in his Council in defiance of him. Neither prince would give way on this point; but matters were made worse in 1275, when Thomas Archer, a Bristol merchant, took a French ship off the Scillies, which
The conquest of Wales, 1283. was bearing to Wales Llewelyn's betrothed, Eleanor, daughter of Simon of Montfort. Edward placed Eleanor at his court with his own queen.

Llewelyn in vain offered a ransom, Edward insisted on homage being paid before any other matter was settled. In 1277 the English king having marched into North Wales with a great host, while a second force entered Powys, and the Cinque Ports fleet guarded the Menai Straits, Llewelyn was starved into surrender, and set his seal to the Treaty of Conway, by which he gave up the Four Hundreds, promised to do homage every year, forgave and took back his three brethren, and paid a heavy fine to the king, who acknowledged him Prince of Wales for his life, gave him up his bride, and made him a marriage feast at London.

But in 1281 the faithless David quarrelled with his English neighbours, was reconciled with Llewelyn, and managed to get him to rise against Edward. On Palm Sunday, 1282, in the midst of a thunder-storm, David burst into Hawarden Castle, took prisoner the Chief-Justice of Wales, Roger Clifford, and slew many of the unarmed garrison. This signal of revolt was followed by a fierce raid into the Marches, the siege and capture of several of Edward's castles, and the raising of Llewelyn's standard. Edward was angered by the princes' treason, but while he made ready for war, called out his knights, and got large grants of money from the clergy and barons, he did not stop the archbishop, John of Peckham, from going to Wales to try and settle a peace. Twice the good archbishop journeyed to Wales and back to lay the Welsh grievances before Edward, who listened to them patiently, but insisted upon instant submission, at the same time offering as fair terms to the two princes as their continual breaches of faith would allow of—to Llewelyn a thousand a year and an English earldom to him and his heirs for ever, in exchange for Snowdonia; to David a pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the king's pleasure, at the king's expense. But the Welsh barons answered, "We dare not submit to Edward, nor will we suffer our prince to do so, nor do homage to strangers, whose tongue, ways, and laws we know nought of; we have only raised war in defence of our lands, laws, and rights." The archbishop in grief now excommunicated Llewelyn and David; and Edward invaded Wales at once with a host, in which Scottish horsemen, Gascon men-at-arms, Bask foot-soldiers (under Gaston of Bearn, now the English king's faithful vassal), and Irish kernes served beside English knights and yeomen. After a check near Hope, the king was defeated at the bridge of boats he had made at the Menai Straits. But he sent summons for fresh troops.

Inasmuch as Llewelyn, the son of Gruffydd, and other Welshmen, his abettors, foes and rebels to us, have so often, both in our days and in the days of our forefathers, kings of England, disturbed the peace of our realm, and have now lately betaken them to their old way of rebellion and wickedness, from which they will not hold back, for their hearts are hardened. Wherefore we now purpose, by the grace of God, to bring to an end the task of putting down their evil craft which we have lately undertaken by the advice of the peers and great men of our realm and the whole commonalty thereof, for the everlasting peace and quiet of ourself and our whole realm; for we hold it more fit and seemly that we and the dwellers in our land put ourselves to great toil and expense this once for the common good, to crush the wickedness of them altogether, heavy though the burden be, than that we allow ourselves to be tormented in times to come at their good pleasure by such risings as the Welsh are now making.

The Earl of Gloucester having beaten the South Welsh army, Llewelyn left David to guard Snowdon, and with a small force went south to raise his friends for a flank attack upon the English. But Red Madoc Muckle-Mouth, the smith of Aberedwy, betrayed his path to his foes, and the traitors of Builth refused him help. He therefore crossed the river Irvon, 10th December 1282, and posting a guard at the bridge, waited for fresh troops at a barn in a little dingle. "If all England were on the other bank, I am safe now," he said. But the party sent in pursuit by Edward found a ford, and crossing it fell suddenly upon the surprised Welshmen. Llewelyn hurried out to help his followers, but was thrust through and slain by the lance of Sir Adam of Frankton, who did not know whom he had overthrown. His head was cut off and sent to England, where it was borne through Cheapside on a spear, with a crown of silver upon it, in mockery of the Welsh prophecy that Llewelyn should ride crowned through London; and finally set up on the Tower wreathed in ivy. David now took the title of Prince of Wales, but he got scant help from the panic-stricken Welsh, and was soon driven an outlaw to the woods. In 1283 he was betrayed by two of his own men to the English, and a Parliament was called at which he was to be tried, in these words:—

By how many kinds of wiles and plots the Welsh nation like foxes hath encroached upon our forefathers, ourself, and our realm as far back as the memory of man runneth; how many butcheries they have wrought of great men, gentle folk, and others, both English born and aliens, young and old, women and even babes; how many castles and manors both of our own and of other dwellers in our realm they have set fire to; how often they have troubled and annoyed our realm, heeding neither God nor man, is hardly to be counted by the tongue of man.

But how in these last days, not to speak of things past, Llewelyn, Gruffydd's son, whilom Prince of Wales, and David, his brother, in despite of the fealty they owed us, not being able to leave their old ways, yet more traitorously than was their wont have risen, and having set fire to our towns and, to our grief, slain certain of our lieges, burnt others, and set others in bonds in dreadful dungeons, have dared in their reckless boldness to seize our castles, with cruel shedding of innocent blood—all this hath been lately driven into the ears of every man in our realm. But He who having waited very long for the conversion of the sinner, suffereth him when he is hardened to be wholly cast away, being willing at this present, as seemeth most likely, to put an end to his crafty desires, plottings, burnings, and unkind slaughters, hath now, after the slaying of said Prince Llewelyn, at last given over the said David also, who is accounted the last branch as it were of that race of traitors, to be taken captive by men of his own tongue. Wherefore we give Him thanks, believing that He Himself hath done this. And . . . we wish to take counsel with our lieges as to what should be done with this David whom we received in his banishment, cherished in his orphanhood, enriched out of our own lands [he had been made Baron of Frodsham], and set among the elders of our palace.

David was accordingly tried at Shrewsbury, September 30, 1283, for treason, murder, and sacrilege, condemned, and drawn, hanged, disembowelled, and quartered.

5. Edward now ordered commissioners to look into the laws of Wales and see how they might be bettered, and upon their report the *Statutum Gwalliæ* was passed at Rhuddlan, by which the succession to land was settled, sheriffs and coroners appointed, and three High Courts, Chancery, Exchequer, and King's Bench, under Chancellor, Chamberlain, and Chief-Justice, set up in North and South Wales respectively. The royal rents were greatly lessened, and Welshmen were to keep all the rights, freedom, and estates they had formerly enjoyed under their own princes. In 1284 the king promised to make his second son Edward, born at Caernarvon, Prince of Wales. In 1285 Edward made a grand entry into London, carrying in his own hands the famous Welsh relic, the *cross of S. Neot*, which he had taken from David, and which he now laid on the High Altar of Westminster.

All Wales was now under English law, save the lands of the Lords Marchers, who for fifty years longer kept up their feudal rights. On the whole, the change was not greatly disliked; the people found that the peace was better kept, and that they were less at the mercy of the nobles than they had been before. But the noblemen and gentry were not content to lose their former power, and they rebelled more than once. In 1287 Rhys, son of Meredydd, disappointed at his claims to the South Welsh crown being disregarded,

The settlement
of Wales, 1283-
1301.

rose in arms, and in spite of the fair offers of Edward, refused to make peace. He was driven out of the country, but raised an army in Ireland, and in 1290 fought a pitched battle against the Chief-Justice Tiptoft, by whom he was defeated and taken prisoner. He was tried at York for treason, condemned, and hanged.

In 1294 there was a more general rising, Llewelyn's son Madoc in North Wales, Maelgwn Vychan in Cardigan, and Morgan in Glamorgan. They hanged the Chief-Justice, drove the Earl of Gloucester out of his land, and sent for help to France. However, Maelgwn was soon taken and hanged, Morgan surrendered, but Madoc beat the Earl of Lincoln, blockaded Edward himself in Conway, and overthrew two English armies before he was beaten and taken at *Mynydd Digoll*, 1295. He died in the Tower.

In 1301 Edward of Caernarvon came to Chester, and there, wearing the gold wreath and ring, and holding the silver rod of his principality, received the homage of the freeholders of Wales. The prince was much beloved in Wales all his life ; his nurse had been a Welshwoman, and his foster-brother, Howel the Strong, was a famous Welsh knight.

Gerald of Barri, a Welshman himself on the mother's side, gave a close and careful picture of Wales in John's day which still held good in his grandson's time. He speaks of the fruitful corn-fields of Anglesea, the rich pastures of Snowdon, the deep woods of Mid-Wales full of deer, and the pleasant bay of Cardigan with its noble fisheries. He describes the handsome, active men with long hair and moustache, but shaven chin, clad in coarse kirtle and cloak, bare-kneed, shod with brogues of raw hide, and the fair women with their linen wimples and dark gowns. He tells of their simple fare, dampers cooked on a girdle, buttermilk, and boiled or broiled meat ; of their rude dwellings, bracken-thatched huts with walls of daub and wattle, where they sleep under a rug round an open fire in the old fashion of their British forefathers. He talks of the skilled spearmen of Snowdonia armed in short mail-coats and light helms and targets, and admires the mighty archers of South Wales, whose arrows smote through hides and mail like the bolts from a war-engine. He notes the skill of the Welsh on harp and pipe and viol, and their love of poetry and singing. He praises their hospitality, their wit, their hardiness, their piety and charity, but blames their faithlessness and lack of perseverance, their cruel family quarrels and monstrous family pride. He shows, too, how their disunion and lack of discipline open the way to their conquest

by their steadier and more united neighbours. John of Peckham's witness is also to be given. "This people of Wales seems to me too wild and naughty in many ways and little witting of law, and a lost folk without profit in this world. . . . They are lazy, and therefore they devise all manner of evil. Every man of them according to his estate should be made to work for his living, they should therefore be encouraged to send their children to learn in England, as indeed they wish to do. . . . Their wildness may be taken away by making them live together in towns."

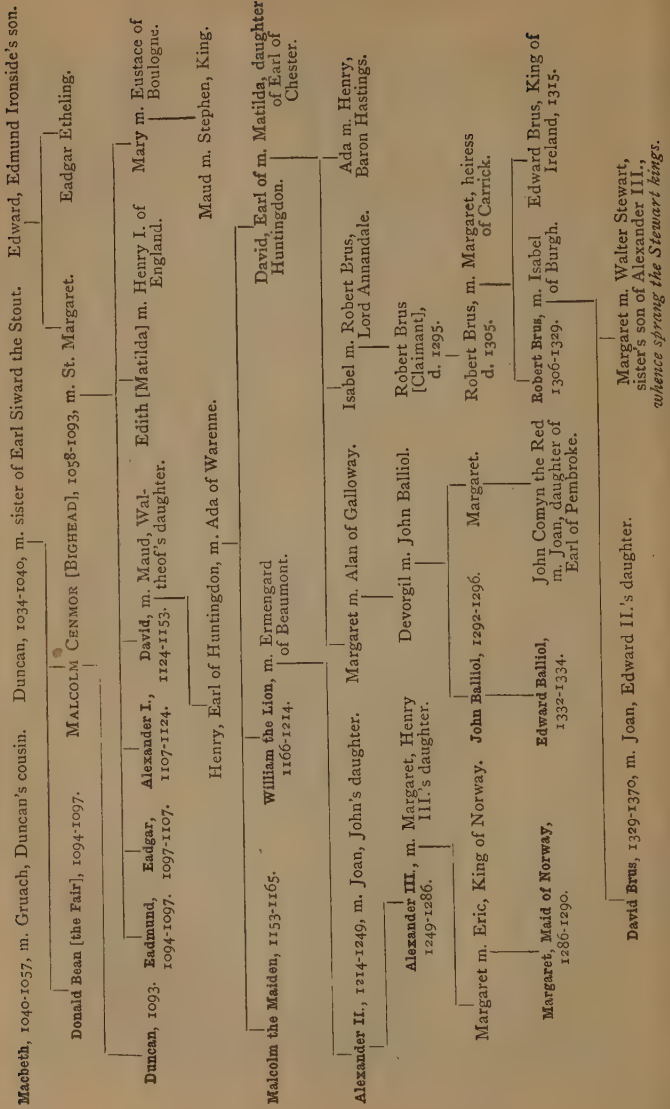
6. For the rest of his reign it is round Scotland that Edward's policy centres, his home affairs and even his relations with the French king depend on it. In 1286 died Alexander III., the last heir-male of the Anglo-Scottish house that had sprung from Malcolm Bighead, the ward of Earl Siward, and the sainted Margaret, the Etheling's sister and the Confessor's niece, a house which had found Scotland a Gaelic principality, half conquered by the Earls of Orkney and far less civilized than Ireland or Wales, and left it a flourishing kingdom with well-to-do towns, a thriving population, a court which was a centre of French and English culture, and a government which bid fair to establish lasting peace

John Balliol
made King of
Scots, 1292-
1296.

under a powerful Church and a popular and talented king. Among the noblest rulers of this line was the wise and holy David, who had been brought up by Henry I. and had fostered Henry II.; his grandsons, Malcolm the Maiden, Henry's faithful ally, and William the Lion, who paid so heavily for his faithlessness to his brother's friend; Alexander II., who had married John's daughter and stood up for the Charter; and Alexander III., Henry III.'s son-in-law, in whose days the last Northern Armada, under Hacon, King of Norway, was defeated at the outset by a panic at *Largs*, 1263, and a terrible gale which led its aged and invalid leader to give up his cherished but bootless plans.

When Alexander was killed by a fall from his horse on the rocks at Kinghorn, on the Fife coast, his granddaughter, the *Maid of Norway*, was chosen queen, and a marriage arranged between her and her cousin, Edward of Caernarvon, at *Brigham*; but she died in the Orkneys on her way to Scotland in 1290. Thirteen claimants put forward their rights, and the dispute was finally referred to Edward as overlord by nine of them. After looking into the matter, two of the claimants, Balliol and Brus, were held to have good titles, and the case between them was tried at *Norham*

THE HOUSE OF MALCOLM BIGHEAD OF SCOTLAND.



and *Berwick*, on the Scottish border, by a board of 104, of which each rival chose forty and Edward twenty-four members. After full hearing, the kingdom was adjudged to Balliol at *Berwick*, November 30, 1292, who did homage for it at once to the English king. So far all had gone well, but trouble was ahead. By the Treaty of *Amiens* in 1279 Edward had given up all claims to Normandy, and got quiet possession of Aquitaine and Ponthieu from Philip III. He had done homage to Philip IV., and had acted as umpire between the French princes and the King of Aragon in the quarrel over the crown of Sicily; but in spite of his good offices he found that the French king, who had beguiled him into giving up Gascony for a while, was eagerly seeking some means by which to overreach and despoil him. In 1293 a quarrel broke out at S. Mahé in Brittany between the mariners of the Cinque Ports and the Norman shipmen, who took some English sailors and, by the order of Charles, brother of the French king, hanged them to their yard-arms with dogs tied to their bodies. The result was a sea-fight in which English, Gascons, and Irish fought against the Normans, French, Flemings, and Germans, and after great slaughter took most of their ships. Next year the English merchant fleet took sixty French ships laden with wine and threw their crews overboard. Edward was summoned to Paris to answer for his subjects' behaviour in Philip's Court of Peers. In vain he offered to submit the whole matter to umpires. Philip refused all terms, and after a brief delay declared his fiefs forfeited. Edward allied himself with the Emperor Adolphus, the King of Aragon, the Earls of Flanders and Holland, called out the English knights and yeomen, and named three *Admirals*, one for Yarmouth and the east coast, one for Portsmouth and the south coast, one for Bristol and the Irish coast. An army was sent to defend Gascony. The French fleet began the war by burning Dover, while the English laid waste Cherbourg.

7. But it was his enemies in Britain that gave Edward the greatest trouble. Morgan's rising was encouraged by the French king, and now Philip had managed to win over the Scottish nobles to appoint a standing Council of Twelve to advise and control their king, and force him into a treaty with France. John, angered at being obliged to answer the appeals of his subjects against him in Edward's court, gave way to their wishes, and a match was secretly made up between his son Edward

Scotland given
up to Edward,
1296.

and Philip's daughter Joan, upon John's promise to attack the English king.

Always willing to seek help and advice from his subjects in his difficulties, Edward had called the *Great Parliament of 1295*, which was afterwards acknowledged as the model for such gatherings, as the *three Estates* were all present regularly summoned according to what henceforth was held to be the lawful and necessary form. In his summons to the archbishop, Robert of Winchelsea (John of Peckham was dead), he writes:—

Inasmuch as a most righteous law, established by the prudent foresight of the emperors, approves and ordains that *what toucheth all should be looked to and agreed upon by all*, so also it is very clear that common dangers should be met by proper measures agreed upon in common. Thou knowest well, and it hath now gone forth, as we believe, through every region of the world, how the King of France hath deceitfully and by trick cheated me out of my land of Gascony, wickedly withholding it from me. But now, not satisfied with this deceit and wickedness, having gathered together to beset our realm a very great fleet and a mighty multitude of soldiers, with whom also he hath already attacked our realm and the inhabitants thereof, he proposeth, if his power equal this abominable and unrighteous design by him imagined (which thing God forbid), to altogether wipe out the English tongue from the face of the earth.

Ere this Parliament met, Balliol's treason became known to Edward, who thereupon sent his brother in his stead to Gascony, and resolved to set out early next spring to Scotland. The Scottish earls began the war with a cruel raid into Cumberland, but Edward went up the east coast, crossed the Tweed, and attacked *Berwick*. The townsfolk, who had slain some English merchants in cold blood, were desperate, and mocked the king's offers. But the castle surrendered, and though thirty brave Flemings held out in the Red Hall till it was burned over their heads, the English burst in, March 30, 1296. The rich trading town was sacked, and the hapless burghesses massacred, so that "the blood ran down the streets like a mill-stream." The Scottish king now sent formally to withdraw his homage, refusing to appear at Edward's court. "Silly thief!" said the English prince. "We will go to him if he will not come to us!" April 27, the Earls of Surrey and Warwick defeated the Scottish earls with great slaughter at *Dunbar*; and Edward having taken Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and sent home his English foot-soldiers, for the light-armed Welsh and Irish infantry had now joined him, passed on north "to see the hills of Scotland." And John, seeing that he had no power to resist, begged peace of him,

and being kindly received, gave back to Edward the kingdom of Scotland, owning that he had forfeited it, July 10, at *Brechin*. Edward, seeing that all was now quiet, turned back from Elgin, and passing by Scone, took away the *holy stone* upon which the Scottish kings were wont to be crowned, the cross of S. Margaret, and all the royal ornaments of Scotland, and sent them to Westminster, where the stone was set into a chair for the mass-priest at the high altar, and the crown, sceptre, and cross laid at the shrine of Edward the Confessor. In twenty-one weeks he had won a new kingdom.

8. Edward now turned his whole mind to the recovery of Gascony from Philip, but was hampered by unlooked-for hindrances. The clergy under Robert of Winchelsea refused to vote him any money at the Parliament of *Bury*, 1296, because of Pope Boniface VIII.'s Bull *De Clericis Laicos*, which forbade Churchmen to pay or princes to levy taxes on Church property. But Edward met this as John and Richard had done, by outlawing those who would not pay until they did so.

De Clericis
Laicos, 1296;
Confirmatio
Cartarum, 1297;
and Statute of
Carlisle, 1307.

At a Parliament at Salisbury, 1297, the king spoke: "I am the *keep* of the land, and you the *towers* and *outworks* of it. My heritage, Gascony, I have lost by treachery, and I have vowed to get it back. It is your duty to help me in this. Let no man excuse himself." But the Marshal and Constable, the Earls of Norfolk and Hereford, refused to serve abroad unless the king himself went with them. "You shall go whether I go or no," said the king. "I am not bound to, nor will I," answered the Marshal. Then the king grew angry, "By God, sir earl, you shall go or hang!" "By the same oath," replied Norfolk, "I will neither go nor hang!" He and his friends then left the court and gathered their party to them, 1500 knights, forbidding the king's officers to levy any taxes on their land. For Edward seeing the time slipping by, and determined to go to Flanders, where the towns had promised to help him against Philip, now seized all the wool at the seaports, forcing the merchants to pay a new and heavier duty, which they called *male-tote*, "ill-toll," before he would let it pass. He also sent for grain and meat from the sheriffs of the English counties, and all this without right, for he had not got the leave of Parliament. Before he sailed, however, he spoke to the people from a stage put up outside Westminster Hall, his son and Archbishop Robert standing by his side. With

tears in his eyes he begged them to forgive him for having ruled them less well than he ought, but assured them that what he had taken from them he had taken in order that he might defend them with it against those who were thirsting for their blood. "And now I am going to put myself in jeopardy for you, and I pray you, if I come back, to receive me well, and I will give you back all I have taken from you; but if I do not come back, then crown this my son as your king." And the people wept, and held up their right hands, and swore to obey him. But the earls sent him a list of grievances, and when he sailed they summoned their friends in arms to a Parliament at *London*, where by the good offices of Robert of Winchelsea it was agreed that the king should confirm the Charters, levy no new kind of tax, or duty, or tallage save by consent of Parliament, and give up the male-tote of wools. This agreement, called the *Confirmatio Cartarum* or *Articuli de Tallagio non concedendo*, was sent over to Ghent, where the king set his seal to it, November 5, 1297, to the joy of all. For the times were hard, and the people suffering a good deal, as the song of the time shows:—

"O Lord God of majesty, ob Personas Trinas
Our good king and company, ne perire sinas!
They have caused him pain and woe gravesque ruinas,
That made our king o'er sea to go in partes transmarinas.
Rex ut salvatur falsis maledictio datur!

A king should never to a war extra regnum ire,
Save the Commons do declare velint consentire.
By treason every day we see quam plures perire,
Whom to trust implicitly nemo potest scire!
Non eat ex regno rex sine consilio.

In England now it is the way de anno in annum
The fifteenth penny you must pay, ad commune damnum!
To satisfy the taxman's call dedere super scamnum
The poor man has to sell his all, vaccas rus et pannum!
Non placet ad summum quindecim sic dare nummum.

Past all bearing is one thing, unde gens gravatur
Not one-half goes to the king, in regno quod levatur:
Because he does not get his score prout sibi datur,
The people have to pay him more et sic sincopatur.
Nam quæ taxantur regi non omnia dantur."

It does not hurt the lords to grant regi sic tributum
The poor must pay whate'er they want, contra Dei nutum.
It can't be right in any way sed vitiis pollutum;
That they who grant should never pay est male constitutum!
Nam concedentes nil dont regi sed egentis.

A tax like those that they've laid on diu nequit durari ;
 For who can pay when all is gone vel manibus tractare ?
 The people are in such despair quod nequeunt plus dare,
 That if they found a chief I fear quod vellent levare.
 Sæpe facit stultas gentes vacuata facultas.

By this Act the king was bound not to levy indirect taxes without consent of Parliament, but he might still lay tallages on the towns and the Crown estates. In the Parliament of *London*, 1300, it was supplemented by the *Articuli super Cartas* [fresh clauses to the Charters], which stopped the wrongdoing of the royal officers, settled the choice and duties of the sheriff, and ordered a survey of the forests. In 1301, at the Parliament of *Lincoln*, where the report of the survey was made, the barons begged the king to discharge his treasurer, Walter of Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, and demanded a final confirmation of the Charter, the carrying out of the forest reforms, the abolition of *purveyance* [forced purchase of goods for the king's use], the exact settlement of the judges' duties, and declared that these requests must be granted before they voted any money. Edward imprisoned the knight who brought up the bill, refused to change his treasurer, saying he had a right to order his household as he would, but gave way on the other points and confirmed the Charters again. However, in 1305 he got Clement V. to free him from all the oaths he had lately taken as against the royal rights, though in spite of this he did not break his word.

The same year he ordered the sheriffs to take up all the gangs of *Clubmen* who were black-mailing and robbing in the country, and he further sent judges under *Commission of Trail-baston* [club-bearing] to try these evil-doers. The outlaws did not relish these stern laws, and one of them is made to say in a French poem of the day :—

“ If I wish to beat my groom because he disobeys,
 And give him a good stroke or two to make him mend his ways,
 Off he goes and gets a writ and has me clapped in hold ;
 Before I can get out again I have to spend my gold.
 Forty shillings I must pay before I can get free,
 Yea, and twenty shillings more for the sheriff's fee,
 That he may not put me down in the deepest cell.
 Now, my lords ! consider, pray ! does this law work well ?
 Judge Martin and Judge Knolles are men that mercy show,
 They plead the poor man's cause and pray that he may be let go ;
 But Spigornel and Belfaye are men of cruelty,
 If I could catch them in my beat they should not go scot-free !
 All you that are indicted, I'd have you come to me,
 In the merry woods of Fairview where there's nor judge nor plea,

And no pursuit save of the deer beneath the shade of green ;
 For the Common Law's a risky thing to meddle with, I ween.
 These rhymes were in the green wood made, beneath the laurel-tree,
 Where the merle and nightingale sing, and the sparrow-hawk soars
 free ;

They were written down on parchment lest they should slip my mind,
 And thrown upon the king's highway for some good man to find."

The last Act of Edward's reign was the *Statute of Carlisle*, 1307, forbidding the clergy to send money abroad without the king's leave. The barons in Parliament at the same time complained that the Pope pillaged the kingdom, treating it as Nebuchadnezzar did Jerusalem, that he had removed the good shepherd (the archbishop whom he had sent for to Rome to answer the king's complaints against him), and had put dumb, lazy, greedy hirelings in his room. They renewed the Complaints of 1260, and warned the Pope's officers to keep within the law.

9. Meanwhile things were going badly in Scotland. An outlawed squire of Galloway, William le Waleys [Wallace, *i.e.* the Welshman], who had been ill-used by the sheriff of Lanark, rose with a band of followers against the English ministers, tried to kidnap the Chief-Justice of Scotland, and failing, made a cruel raid into England, in which churches and abbeys were plundered, and helpless prisoners drowned. The king sent the Warden of Scotland, John of Warenne Earl of Surrey against them, and the Scottish nobles who had joined William at once gave in, and begged the earl to wait till they could pacify their countrymen. However, Wallace grew stronger by the delay, and when Surrey sent two black friars to him at *Stirling*, September 10, 1297, to bid him surrender he answered, "Go back and tell the earl we are come here not to make peace, but to fight, to avenge ourselves and to free our land. Let the English come on as soon as they will, we are ready and will withstand them to their beards." The river that ran between the two armies was high, and the bridge was so narrow that but two knights could pass abreast on it: the Warden was therefore advised to wait before he attacked the Scots. But the Treasurer of Scotland, Canon Hugh of Cressingham, could not brook any delay and pushed across the bridge with the vanguard. William let them cross quietly and then dashed down to the bridge before the main body could follow, cutting off Hugh and his knights, who were soon slain, while their friends across the river looked

Revolts in Scot-
 land under Wal-
 lace and John
 Comyn, 1297-
 1304.

on helplessly. The Warden and the rest of the English army fled in terror when Wallace crossed the bridge. Cressingham was so hateful to the Scots for his greed and cruelty that they made saddle-girths and sword-belts out of his skin. Wallace was now joined by many Scottish nobles, and he and Andrew of Moray, the Seneschal of Scotland, called themselves "Wardens of the realm for King John." A truce having been made with Philip (which ended in the Treaty of *Chartres*, 1299, and Edward's marriage in 1300 with the French king's sister Margaret), the king came home to England and hastened north to punish the rebels. As the two armies lay encamped face to face at *Falkirk* the morning before the battle, the king had two ribs broken by a kick from his horse, but he mounted another and rode forward to the field. Wallace had skilfully planted his spearmen in thick squares behind a stockade of pales and ropes. Between these squares were his archers, and on the flank his knights. "I have brocht you to the ring," said he to his men when he had set them in array, "now hop [dance] gif ye can!" However, the English cavalry scattered his archers, his knights treacherously fled without a blow, and the squares of pikemen, broken by the thick flights of English arrows, were ridden down and swept away. Wallace himself was forced to flee, turning, however, it is said, and slaying with his own hand the Prior of the Templars, who pursued him too closely. His power was destroyed by this defeat, and he escaped to France, where he lay in hiding for seven years.

The Scots now chose John Comyn the Red as regent for his uncle, King John, and the war lingered on, for they did not dare meet Edward in the field, and they were afraid to surrender after their repeated faithlessness. In 1300 Boniface VIII., claiming to be overlord of Scotland, sent his bull to Edward bidding him withdraw his troops from that country at once. But at the Parliament of Lincoln, 1301, the English king and his nobles wrote two letters to the Pope denying his claims and upholding Edward's rights. So the Scots got little help by this, and next year King Philip, their best friend, gave them up, for he had been defeated by the Flemish townsfolk of Bruges at *Cambray*, to the huge delight of the English merchants, who sang how there came

"Seven French earls and forty barons told,
Fifteen hundred knights so proud and so bold,
Sixty thousand squires, both young men and old,
The Flemings to take.

But the Flemings so bravely they met them amain,
 And smote them and killed them, on hill and on plain,
 These proud French earls with their knights and their train,
 For King Philip's sake.

Alas, thou fair France, how great is thy shame,
 That a handful of fullers can make thee so tame!
 Sixty thousand in one day they made go halt and lame,
 Both earl and knight.

Thereof make the Flemings mighty joy and game,
 Swearing by S. Odemer and also by S. Jame,
 That if there come more of them, they shall be served the same
 If they dare fight."

Philip, therefore, in 1303, finding he had as much on his hands as he could manage, at last gave up Gascony to Edward, promised that he would give his daughter Isabel to Edward's son to wife, and swore to meddle no more with the Scots if the English king would not help the Flemings. The Scottish nobles, finding that Edward was slowly but surely winning back castle after castle, now began to give in one by one. Comyn met the king at Dunfermline, and it was agreed that none of the Scottish barons should be disinherited, but that fines should be paid to the king (as had been done in the case of the Disinherited at Kenilworth in 1266). After the fall of Stirling in 1304, the whole of Scotland was at peace again, and Edward sent back his treasury and courts from York (where they had been for seven years) to Westminster, and took steps for the settlement of Scotland. A Scottish Parliament met at Perth and sent ten deputies—two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, two commoners—half from the north, half from the south of Forth, to meet ten English deputies at London. This board of twenty, with the king and the judges, drew up a *New Scottish Constitution*.

(a) John, Earl of Brittany, the king's nephew, was to be Warden of the Realm with a standing council to advise him. (b) The land was to be divided into four parts, Lothian, Galloway, East Highlands, and West Highlands, with two judges (one English, one Scottish) to each. (c) The laws of the Scots [Highlanders] and Brets [Welsh of Strathclyde] were to be done away with, and the laws of King David, with such fresh statutes as the Scottish Parliament should make with the king's consent, were to hold throughout the realm. (d) The Scottish Parliament was to send certain deputies to the English Parliament every year.

In 1305, Wallace, who had come back to Scotland and was in hiding, holding out for a free pardon, was taken by Edward's sheriff, Sir John Menteith, near Glasgow:—

“ He took him by the treachery of Jack Short, his man :
 Sir John had never got him so but for this fellow’s plan.
 The Wallace, it is said, had Jack’s brother slain,
 Wherefore to play this trick on him the man Jack was fain.”

Wallace was brought to London, and though he protested that he had never been the king’s subject, and that what he had done had been done in fair war, was tried and condemned for murder, sacrilege, and treason, and punished as Prince David had been, August 24. His brother John soon after met the same fate.

10. In the winter of the same year Robert Brus, grandson of the Claimant, left the English court and took secret counsel with the Bishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews, who like himself had sworn fealty over and over again to Edward.

“ But false was their promise as frost is in May,
 Which the sun from the southward soon wipeth away.”

To further his plans he hoped to win over his cousin Comyn and the two met early in 1306 at the Greyfriars’ Kirk at Dumfries. But Comyn would not agree to his wishes, saying, “ I will not break my oath. We have risen four times and been beaten.”

Brus’ revolt
 and Edward’s
 death, 1306-
 1307.

With that Brus drew his sword in a rage and, leaning over the altar, struck his unarmed cousin a deadly blow, while Seton, Brus’ brother-in-law, stabbed Robert, John Comyn’s uncle. Brus then rode into the town on Comyn’s own black charger, leaving his two kinsmen dying in the chancel. After this crime he had only two paths open, to flee the land at once or to make a bold bid for a kingdom. He chose the latter course, and was hastily crowned at Scone, March 25. Edward was furious at the murder of Comyn, the perjury of Brus and his abettors, and the fresh breach of the union he had worked so hard to bring about. At a great feast at London, where he knighted his son Edward and two hundred squires with him, he took a great oath “ upon the swans,” according to the wont of knights in that day, to win back Scotland and avenge the blood of Comyn or die in the quarrel. With Aymery of Valence his nephew, and Prince Edward, who had joined in his vow, he moved north, and Brus, “ the summer king,” as he was called in jest, was driven in deadly peril of his life a wanderer to the Western Isles. The pursuit was hot after him : his three brothers, Nigel, Alexander the Dean of Glasgow, and Thomlin ; his brother-in-law Christopher Seton ; and his friends Simon Fraser and the Earl of Athole, were

taken and hanged; his wife and sister imprisoned. But though he was tracked by bloodhounds and hunted by Highlanders, Robert himself managed not only to keep out of the hands of his foes, but even to make head against them. In 1307 Edward made up his mind to put down the rebellion at all hazards, and started with a huger host than before on a campaign which must have ended in complete success. Brus, terrified, sent to Prince Edward begging him to get terms for him; but the old king would not hear of anything but submission at mercy, and Brus, despairing, resolved to hold out to the death. However, Edward was taken ill and died at Burgh-on-Sands, by Solway Water, Friday, July 7. He sent his last wishes to his son, bidding him go on with the army, bearing his bones with him till Scotland was thoroughly subdued, ordering him to use the treasure of £32,000 to keep sevenscore knights for a crusade to the Holy Land, where he would have his heart buried, praying him to cherish his stepmother and his half-brothers, and forbidding him to recall Piers of Gaveston (who had lately been banished) without leave of Parliament. All which things the Prince promised under pain of his father's curse.

Edward's form and looks are often spoken of by the chroniclers. He was stronger, bigger, and taller than most men, deep-chested, thin-flanked, with long limbs, which gave him great power in swordsmanship, riding, and tilting. His face was handsome and stern, only blemished by the falling eyelid which he inherited from his father; his hair was flax-fair in his childhood, dark brown in his manhood, and silver-white in his old age. He was a good and ready speaker, in spite of a slight stammer, and his voice was deep and strong. He kept his full health and strength till within a few days of his death, though his life had been rough and restless. He was as pious and duteous to his kinsfolk as his father had been, as good a knight and as quick a general as Richard Lion-heart, and as wise and hard-working a king as Henry of Anjou. He was truthful, holding ever to his *device*, "Keep faith;" pitiful, boasting that no man had ever prayed him for mercy and been refused; careful of his money, his time, and his servants, and proud of his strict justice to evil-doers. He was never afraid of confessing his mistakes, and he took pains to show his people that he trusted and cared for them, and sought their love and trust in return. There are many stories that set forth his dutifulness, courage, and princely heart. How he fought Adam of Gordon, a tried and stalwart knight of Montfort's party,

single-handed, overcame him, and gave him his life, after Evesham. How he swam a river to get at and chastise an insolent groom, whom he forgave when the fellow in great terror begged pardon for his rudeness. How at Stirling, when his horse was slain by a bolt from an arblast, he turned round to his men, who begged him to withdraw out of range of the castle, with the words, "A thousand shall fall beside me, and ten thousand at my right hand, but their arrows shall not come nigh unto me to do me hurt, for the Lord is with me." He had indeed had many narrow escapes from death. Once a huge stone fell from the roof of the room on the very place where he had just been sitting; another time the lightning struck his bedroom and killed two pages that were standing before him; a third time, his horse, frightened by the sails of a mill, leapt over the wall at Winchelsea, falling many feet down to the road beneath, which luckily happened to be a muddy one, without hurting himself or his rider. But though he believed himself to be specially guarded by God, Edward did not give way to superstition nor let his feelings mislead his reason. When a beggar pretended that his eyes had been opened by praying at King Henry III.'s tomb, he drove the man away, to his mother's displeasure, saying, "My father would rather have had such a lying rascal blinded than given him back his eyesight." Yet he held his father in deep love and respect. A knight once came to him and complained that a Jewish usurer had refused to do him justice, saying that he had leave by charter from King Henry not to appear before any judge but the king himself. Said Edward, "It does not become a son to make void his father's promises, but I will give you leave in another charter to do what you like to this Jew without being obliged to answer for it save to me." When the Jew heard this he at once agreed to forego King Henry's charter and do justice to his creditor.

What Edward's people thought of him is shown in their deep grief for his death and the way in which they looked back to his reign as a time of peace and good laws. One song says:—

"When he reigned over England, he made the law to stand,
By Reason and by Righteousness he held the realm in hand,
With Wisdom, Strength, and Bravery, in which he did abound;
For ruling of a kingdom his peer was never found."

And his dirge runs:—

"All ye of perfect heart and true : hearken an hour my song unto !
For a woe that Death hath dared to do : sick and sorry we all must go.

I sing of a knight that was so strong : on whom God now hath wrought His will.

Methinks this Death hath done us wrong : that he so soon should lie so still.

All England surely ought to know : of whom the song is that I sing,
Of King Edward that lies so low : through all the world his praise shall ring.

Truest of men in every thing : and in war both wary and wise,
We needs for him our hands must wring : of Christian kings he bore the prize.

To Poitiers town a serjeant pass'd : and told the Pope the king was dead

The Holy Father's tears fell fast : upon his stole the while he read ;
'Alas !' he said, 'is Edward dead : to whom God gave such grace and power ?'

'Christ on his soul His mercy shed : of Christian kings he was the flower !'

Although my tongue were made of steel : my heart cast out of brass,
The goodness I could ne'er reveal : that in King Edward was.

King, thou wast called Conqueror : in every battle thou barest the prize.

God bring thy soul to that honour : that ever was and ever is !"

CHAPTER II.

Edward II. of Caernarvon, 1307-1327.

1. Prince Edward, now twenty-three years old, was a strong, handsome young man, brave, well-spoken, and able, but headstrong, careless of all but his own pleasures, and given overmuch to the companionship of those beneath him, idling his time away with actors, jugglers, craftsmen, and labourers, when he ought to have been learning and doing his duty as a peer and counsellor. His folly angered his father, who drove him from court for six months when he broke the treasurer's park and slew his deer, and could not refrain from striking him when he begged the earldom of Ponthieu, his mother's portion, for his bosom friend Gaveston. Piers or Peter of Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight who with his wife had been put to death by the French ; Queen Eleanor had brought the orphan to her court and made him the playmate of her son, over whom he got the most un-

Edward and
Piers of Gaves-
ton, 1307-1309.

bounded power. Piers is spoken of as a good knight, a gifted man, and a skilful soldier ; but his pride and greed made him hateful, and his power over Edward was not used for any good. The new king began his reign by breaking his father's dying wishes.

He sent his father's body to Westminster to be buried; went south himself, though there was every hope, if he had used the power he had, of crushing the rebellion of Brus at one blow; and recalled Gaveston, making him Chamberlain, Earl of Cornwall, marrying him to his niece, and enriching him with his father's treasure and the jewels of the crown. He then dismissed the treasurer and others of the Council who had offended himself or his friends in times past, and appointing the newly-made earl Warden of the Realm, crossed to Boulogne. Here, having done homage for his duchy of Aquitaine, he married the French princess, Isabel, January 28, 1308, amid great feasting and merry-making. On his return he was crowned at Westminster, February 25, when he swore a special oath "to hold and keep the laws and righteous customs which the commonalty of the realm should choose."

Very soon the king's folly and extravagance, and Gaveston's open contempt of the Earls of Hereford, Warrene, Pembroke, Warwick, and Lancaster, whom he thwarted in the Council, overthrew in the tournament, and mocked with nicknames (calling Pembroke "Joseph the Jew," Warwick "the black dog of Arden," and Lancaster "the old man" or "the mummer"), led to the exile of the favourite at the Council of London. The king made him Warden of Ireland, and there he ruled well and was much liked. However, in 1309, the Parliament of Westminster brought forward certain Articles prohibiting (*a*) the wrongdoings and illegal tolls taken by the king's officers; (*b*) the delays and evasions of justice; (*c*) the *new customs* upon the foreign merchants, who were not protected by the Charter; (*d*) the wrong use of the king's right of *purveyance*. The king agreed to these at *Stamford* 1309, and by the persuasion of the Earl of Gloucester the Parliament allowed of Gaveston's return.

2. But the greatest of the English barons, the king's cousin Thomas, son of Edmund Crouchback King of Sicily, and Blanche dowager Queen of Navarre, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, and heir by marriage to Lincoln and Salisbury, was by no means pleased with the king's rule. And as there were many men, rich and poor, who had grievances which they saw little chance of getting removed by the careless, ease-loving king or his proud and lazy ministers, Earl Thomas soon had a large party at his back. The king forbade armed gatherings, but the barons paid no heed to his decree and came in full force to a Parliament at Westminster in Lent 1310, and chose a board of seven bishops, eight earls,

and six barons, of whom the Archbishop Robert was the chief, to draw up *Ordinances* "to the honour and welfare of Holy Church, the king, and the people of the realm, according to the oath the king took when he was crowned." While the Ordainers were sitting the king and Gaveston made a raid into Scotland, in which they drove their foes before them, but did not succeed in stopping the war by the capture of the rebel leaders.

In 1311, leaving Gaveston at Bamborough, Edward came back and met the Parliament at London. He had already agreed to the first six Ordinances ere he went north, touching—

(a) The keeping of the Charters, (b) the peace, and (c) the rights of the Church; (d) forbidding the king to make any gifts without the Ordainers' consent; (e) ordering the customs to be paid to English collectors, and (f) making the foreigners to whom they had hitherto been paid give account of their receipts.

He now had to agree to a second set of Ordinances, by which—

(a) Gaveston, "who had misled the king, turned away his heart from his people, and wrought all kinds of wrong-doing," was to be banished and forfeit his estates; the Italian merchants who had lent the king money and taken the taxes were to be sent out of England; and Henry of Beaumont, whom Edward had made King of Man (which had been lately taken from the Scots), was to leave the Council.

(b) All the king's ministers in England, Ireland, and Gascony are to be chosen by the king with the counsel and consent of the baronage.

(c) The king may not go to war, leave the realm, raise an army, or change the coinage without consent of the barons in Parliament.

(d) Parliaments are to be held once at least every year to hear and decide suits and complaints.

(e) The new *prises* [forced tolls], customs, afforestings, taxes on foreign merchants, are forbidden.

(f) Justice was made more sure and severe.

(g) The former Ordinances, Statutes, and Charters are confirmed.

Edward complained that he was treated like an idiot, since he was no longer allowed to rule his own house or choose his own servants; but after in vain praying the barons to forgive "his brother Piers," he gave way, sent Gaveston to Brabant, and sealed the Ordinances. However, as soon as he got back to York by counsel of certain French lawyers he set aside the articles touching Gaveston and replaced him in his former rank and estates. Earl Thomas and his friends at once armed, and beset Gaveston in Scarborough till he gave himself up on the understanding

that he should be kept safe till peace was arranged. But as he was being taken to Wallingford the Earl of Warwick, his deadly foe, seized him by a sudden surprise from the Earl of Pembroke, in whose safeguard he was, and took him before the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford. As he was led to his enemies he cried, "Where are all my riches with which I bought friends, and where are the friends in whom I put my trust? It is my pride, the king's favour, and the court that have brought me to this hopeless pass." He prayed the "gentle Earl" Thomas for pity, and some present would have sent him back to Pembroke, but others said, "We have got the wolf by the ears, shall we let him go to hunt him again?" and Earl Thomas bade two Welsh soldiers take him away forthwith and strike off his head, for as he was a Roman citizen and a kinsman of the Earl of Gloucester by marriage they would not put him to a shameful death. So his head was cut off at Blacklow at noonday and borne by a black friar to Edward, June 19, 1312. The king was furious at the murder of his friend and made ready to revenge him. It was only by the good offices of the Earl of Gloucester, the Pope, and the King of France that a civil war was stopped, and the king reconciled to the four earls, Lancaster, Hereford, Warren, and Warwick, October 16, 1313. The birth of his eldest son, November 13, 1312, had delighted Edward, and from that moment he began somewhat to forget his grief for his dead friend.

In 1309 Pope Clement sent a bull to the English bishops saying he had found the Templars in France guilty of heresy, idolatry, murder, and evil living, and ordering the archbishop to see into the state of the Order in England. The English Templars were not proved guilty, but it was thought well to break up the Order in 1312, its property being given to the Knights of St. John, who were still engaged in fighting the Saracens.

3. All this while Brus had been profiting by the divisions in England to win back castle after castle from the English garrisons by stratagem or storm, and at last he beset Stirling so straitly that the governor promised to yield it unless he were relieved by St. John's Day, 1314. Edward was willing to fight the Scots, but Lancaster and his friends, who cared only to hold power, pretended that a Parliament must be called ere the king could lawfully set out, and refused to join his host. Edward, however, made up his mind to save Stirling, and with Gloucester and a great host he faced King Robert, who was by the brook of Bannock, covering the way

to the castle, posted in a strong place which he had honey-combed with pits to stop the English cavalry. On the 23rd



a. Earl Randolph.
b. King Robert.
c. Edward Brus.

d. Reserve.
e. Camp followers.
f. Ground pitted and
staked.

A. Clifford.
B. Archers.
C. King Edward with
main body.

June an attempt to relieve the castle was balked by the Scottish spearmen, and King Robert, who was mounted on a little hackney marshalling his men, with his own hand slew a fully-armed English knight who challenged him, parrying his lance-thrust and cleaving his head with his axe. Next morning the English archers began the attack, but the Scottish cavalry drove them back, and the English knights were

The loss of
Scotland at
Bannockburn,
June 24, 1314.

forced to charge the unbroken squares of pikemen. In the confusion a number of the Scottish camp-followers were seen coming down the hill with flags and pikes, and the Englishmen took them for a fresh host, and turned in flight. The Earl of Gloucester was left to die fighting bravely alone, the English king, whose horse was killed under him, was forced out of the fray against his will, and saved by the unselfish courage of Sir Giles of Argentein. The Scots pursued fiercely, killing all they could come up with, and winning great spoil. Stirling yielded, and save Berwick, King Robert now held

the whole realm of Scotland. Nor was he content, but in order to force Edward to acknowledge his independence, he carried the war into Ireland and Wales. Llewelyn Bren rose in 1316, and Sir Gruffydd Llwyd afterward; but the Welsh did not dislike the king, and were easily quieted.

Across the sea things went worse. By the wish of the O'Neils, who passed their own right over to him, Edward of Brus was crowned King of Ireland at Dundalk in 1315. With an army of Irish clansmen and 6000 Scottish soldiers he defeated the English troops of the Pale till he was checked at *Athonee*, where 11,000 of the O'Connors fell. But his brother Robert came to his help in the fall of the same year, 1317, and the two kings swept through the whole land from Belfast to Killarney with fire and sword. However Robert was soon called home, where he busied himself with the siege of Berwick and raids into North England, and now the English of the Pale under Lord Mortimer defeated, and under John of Birmingham overthrew, the invaders at *Faughard*, near Dundalk, October 14, 1318, where Edward was slain by John Malpas. The invasion had done great harm to Ireland, by raising fresh feuds, throwing back the settlers into their old lawless habits, and destroying much fertile land.

4. In England Lancaster was more powerful than ever, for the defeat of Bannockburn and the ensuing loss of Scotland had lowered the helpless king in men's eyes, while the death of Gloucester had removed the only unselfish and wise man whose name had weight with the people. Edward's ministers, Walter Reynolds, his old tutor (who had succeeded Robert of Winchelsea as Archbishop of Canterbury), and Hugh the Despenser (son of Hugh the Proud, Montfort's Chief Justiciar, who fell at Evesham) were fair-spoken men, but they were self-seeking and not liked by the barons. So in 1314 Lancaster and his friends made the king dismiss them, and put him on an allowance of £10 a day, insisting that *he should live on his own*, that is, be content with the regular income of the Crown lands and dues without calling for more money from his people. But Lancaster, though he was now in power, governed no better than Edward or his friends had done before; he would neither do his duty in the Parliament or in the field against the Scots. And all this while the people were suffering from bad seasons, famine, cattle plague, the cruel forays of the Scots, and the lawlessness of the barons and the royal officers. During these evil years wheat

The bad rule
and sudden fall
of Lancaster,
1314-1322.

rose to 40s. a quarter, ten times its usual price, and after the dearth—

“ To crush down all the poorer sort in misery and care,
The cattle all died suddenly and left the land all bare,
And when this plague was stinted of beasts that bear a horn
Then God sent down upon the earth a second dearth of corn.
One's heart must sure for pity bleed to hear the doleful cry
That went up from the poor man's lips, ' For hunger I must die ! ' ”

Decrees went forth stopping the malting of grain because of the lack of barley for bread, and fixing the *maximum* price for meat and flour and beer and other food. The rich had scarce enough to live on, and were obliged to withhold their usual alms of meat and drink from the poor. The people were driven to live on carrion ; many were killed by the bands of hungry robbers that roamed about seeking for food, and many were starved to death. At last a third party was formed by the Earl of Pembroke, who had not forgiven Lancaster for the dishonour he did him in seizing Gaveston while under his safeguard : and when Berwick was taken by King Robert, a second peace was patched up between Earl Thomas and the king, by which the Ordinances was agreed to, and a Standing Council of eight bishops, four earls, four barons, and a knight, named. But still nothing was done to better matters, Lancaster kept up a secret understanding with the Scots, who, 20th September 1319, beat the Yorkshire levy under the archbishop in a battle called *The Chapter of Mytton*, from the number of clergy that were slain there, and Edward had to make a truce with the victors. A quarrel now broke out on the Welsh borders between Roger Mortimer, the grandson of Edward I.'s friend, and the son of Hugh the Despenser, who had married one of Gloucester's sisters. Hereford and Lancaster took Lord Mortimer's part, and at a Parliament in 1321 the Despensers, father and son, were exiled for abusing their influence over the king, for preventing the peers from seeing and speaking to him, for raising civil war and hindering justice. The outlaws left the kingdom, and the younger Despenser fitted out a small fleet of ships and plundered the merchants in the Channel. But they were not long in exile. Lady Badlesmere refused to let Queen Isabel into Leeds Castle in Kent, and slew some of her followers. The barons, disgusted at this insolence, came to help Edward, and Lancaster, who had a quarrel with Lord Badlesmere, did not raise his hand to help him. Leeds soon fell, and Edward passed on to the Welsh marches to punish the Earl of Hereford for his many misdeeds. The Mor-

timers were forced to yield, and ere Lancaster, who was now alarmed, could gather his troops the king had won all the strongholds of the Midlands. Still Thomas would not take the king's offer of pardon, but with the Earl of Hereford turned to bay at *Borough Bridge*, March 16, 1322, where Sir Andrew Harclay, the royal general, won the day, slaying Hereford and taking Thomas himself. The earl was brought to Pomfret, tried by the Peers for treason, and led out by the Gascon soldiers to be beheaded in an old striped coat and broken hat, seated on a white nag, bridleless and saddleless, the people pelting him with mud and mocking him as "King Arthur." At a little hill outside the town he was made to dismount and kneel down with his face to the north, "toward his friends the Scots." "King of Heaven, have mercy on me!" he said, "for the king on earth hath forsaken me!" and a headsman from London struck off his head. Eight barons and thirty knights and squires met the same end. In a Parliament at *York* the Acts against the Despensers were annulled, all the old articles of the Ordinances confirmed, but the new ones set aside as not having been rightly made in full Parliament. It was at the same time laid down solemnly that "all matters to be established for the estate of our lord the king and his heirs, the realm and people, shall be treated, granted, and established in Parliaments by our lord the king, and by the consent of the clergy, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm." The king now had a good chance of governing well, but he left all to his new favourites the Despensers, made a truce with the Scots, angered the Londoners by his stern justice, and let his prisoners escape. The taxes were not paid, the law was not kept, the people in their despair held Earl Thomas for a martyr and a saint, and grew bitter against the careless king and the greedy ministers.

We have many notices of the sufferings of the poor. One song says—

" To seek the silver for the king I all my seed have sold,
Whereby my land must fallow lie and learn to idly sleep.
And then they fetched my cattle fair away from out the fold.
When I think on the wealth I've lost I wellnigh fall to weep.
In this way they have made a breed of many a beggar bold,
And all our rye is rotten too and rusty ere we reap.

Yea, all our rye is rusty and rotten in the straw,
By reason of the cruel storms on hillside and on plain.
There wakeneth in this sorry world both Woe and wondering Awe.
It were as good to starve at once as thus to toil in vain.

But just the same the beadle comes with his big talk and boast,
 'Come, pay me up the silver that is due to the Green Wax [sheriff's
 tax-paper];
 For thou art down upon my writ, as very well thou know'st.'
 Yea, more than ten times over I have had to pay the tax!"

Another poet bears witness to the evils of the time, blaming the knights for dressing like minstrels, chiding like scolds, neglecting their duties, "lions in hall are they now and hares in the field." The squires he rebukes for their great hoods and new-fashioned coats, rich living and idleness, saying that they pass all their time at feasts and plays. Of the clergy and nobles he says:—

"Great need it were to pray to God that Peace were hither brought
 To save the nobles of the land, that so much woe have wrought;
 The foul fiend egged them on so hard to murder one another,
 That not for very kindred's sake would cousins spare each other
 at all.

So that it seemed that England was just about to fall.

And while these mighty barons in heaps have thus been slain,
 The prelates of our Holy Church too long asleep have lain;
 They woke at last but all too late, great pity 'twas indeed
 They could not see the Truth, they were so blinded by their Greed
 in mist;

They cared far more their lands to save than win the love of Christ!

For had the clergy of our land but kept themselves together,
 And not gone wavering like the wind now hither and now thither,
 But sought on which side stood the Truth and held to that alone,
 Those barons all would be alive that now lie dead and gone
 to clay.

Through Falsehood and through Pride it is that England's cast away.

Pride hath in his pit-fall caught the high and eke the low,
 So that 'tis hard for any man Almighty God to know.
 With Envy and with Wickedness Pride pricketh all about,
 And Peace and Love and Charity from this poor land hie out,
 full fast.

Lest God should shortly end the world we well may be aghast!"

5. In 1323 the new King of France, Charles the Fair, sent to bid Edward come and do homage for his duchy; but the Despensers, fearing the barons would rise against them if he were to leave England, would not let him go. Edward accordingly sent his wife to treat with her brother, and handing over his earldom of Ponthieu and duchy of Aquitaine to his little son, bade him do homage in his stead, 1325. But when Isabel was in France she met Lord Mortimer, and forgetful of her duty to her husband, under pretence that the elder Despenser was plotting against her life, joined

in a plan for invading England, putting down the ministers, and governing in their stead. The queen's open fondness for Mortimer at length forced her brother Charles to send her out of France, but she went to Hainault, and betrothing her son to the earl's daughter Philippa, got 2000 soldiers from him with which to carry out her plans. Money she had already borrowed from her brother and the Italian bankers in France. In vain Edward wrote kindly to her, urging her return to her duty. In vain he bade his little son make no promise of marriage without his father's consent, but come back to England at once, "as you wish to escape our wrath and heavy anger, and love your own welfare and honour." In vain too he called out troops and got Reynolds to excommunicate the invaders. The queen landed at *Orwell*, 24th September 1326, with Lord Mortimer and the king's brother Edmund, Earl of Kent, declaring that she came to avenge the blood of Earl Thomas and punish the Despensers. She was joined by the fleet sent to stop her, by most of the English barons and bishops, and by the Londoners, bands of whom, called "*Riflers*," rose, plundered the houses of the king's friends, and murdered the Bishop of Exeter, keeping the city in such disorder that no courts could be held for months. The little Duke of Aquitaine was made Warden of the Realm, and not a hand was raised on his father's behalf. The Despensers, who had fled to the west, were caught, tried, and hanged as traitors. The king, after hiding for a while in Wales, where the yeomen and monks favoured his flight and helped to conceal him, gave himself up, and was sent a prisoner to Kenilworth. At a Parliament at Westminster, Adam of Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, a deadly enemy of the king's and a man without pity or fear, asked those present whether they would have the father or son as their king. Save four bishops all voted for the son. Edward was charged with having been foolishly led by evil counsellors; with neglecting the business of his state, and trifling his time away unbecomingly; with having lost Ireland, Gascony, and Scotland; with harming the Church, and slaying, exiling, and outlawing many great men; with breaking the oath he made at his crowning to do justice to all, and with having ruined the realm, being incapable of ruling better or of mending his ways. Twenty-four commissioners—earls, barons, abbots, priors, judges, friars, monks, knights, and citizens—were sent to Kenilworth to renounce the homage and fealty they had sworn to the king, who agreed to give up his crown to his son and to become a

Edward un-
kinged and
murdered,
1327.

private person again without any manner of royal dignity, 20th January 1327. Eight months afterward the wretched man, who had been moved about as a prisoner from one dungeon to another, was cruelly murdered by Mortimer's orders at Berkeley Castle, 21st September 1327.

Edward was justly put from the throne, for he had shown himself unfit to rule, and had brought great misery on his people by his neglect of his duty; but those that had withstood him were selfish and greedy men, who cared only for their own advancement, and they were only successful in the end because the people in their sore distress (for a drought was now killing off the cattle the plague had spared) believed that the bad seasons were sent as a punishment for their rulers' sins, and therefore thinking that any change must be for the better, were willing to have a young king who would learn to govern well.

In this reign the power of the Parliament grew greater, and the Estates set about getting the whole control of the taxes into their hands; but it was not yet found possible for the king to rule save by ministers whom he himself chose, though it was settled that he must choose men who would not be hateful to the nation.

CHAPTER III.

Edward III. of Windsor, 1327-1377.

1. On the 29th January the young king was crowned, and on the 3rd February Parliament met. A Standing Council of fourteen was appointed, Henry, Earl of Lancaster (the late earl's brother and heir), being Warden of the realm, was its chairman; with him were the king's uncles Kent and Norfolk, and his kinsman Warenne, the Bishop of Hereford (who was treasurer), the two archbishops, and the Bishop of Winchester, with six barons. The Parliament then blotted out the sentence against Earl Thomas, and the king confirmed the Charters, gave a full and new charter to London, made decrees for the better maintaining of justice, and set *keepers of the peace* in every county. In spite, however, of the Warden and the Council all real power lay in the hands of the queen-mother and of Mortimer, who kept a guard of 180 knights and lived in such state that his own son warned him he was behaving like a May-day king. In 1328 the Scots war broke out again, and Edward, with his mother and

Mortimer, at the head of 8000 knights and squires, 30,000 men-at-arms, horse and foot, and 24,000 archers, Mortimer's rule. The Shameful Peace, 1327-1328. marched north to drive back the Scots, who had already got into England. The Scottish army and its ways of warfare are thus described by one who saw them: "The Scots are bold, hardy, and well inured to war. When they make their inroads into England they march from twenty to twenty-four miles without halting night or day, for they are all horsed save the camp followers. Knights and squires on large bay horses, and the common folk on Galloway ponies, which are never tied up or groomed, but turned out straightway after the day's march to graze on the moor or the meadows. They bring no carts with them because of the hills they have to pass, nor do they carry any bread or wine with them, for they are used to such plain living that in time of war they will live many days on half-sodden flesh without bread, drinking spring water instead of wine. They have therefore no need for pots or pans, for they boil the flesh of the cattle in their skins when they have flayed them. Nor do they drive cattle with them, for they are sure to find plenty in the land they are invading. Every man carries under the flaps of his saddle a broad plate of iron, and behind him a little bag of oatmeal. When they have eaten too much of the boiled flesh and feel weak and empty, they set their plate over the fire, mix a little oatmeal with water, and when the plate is heated put some of this paste upon it and make a thin cake like a biscuit, which they eat to comfort their stomachs." In this way the Scots entered England, destroying and burning everything on their way. They were in number 4000 knights and squires and 20,000 soldiers. The king being now old and stricken with leprosy had set as captains over them his renowned nephew Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas, who was held the bravest and most enterprising knight in the two kingdoms. And the Scots pillaged within five miles of the English host, yet the English could not bring them to battle nor discomfit them. For some time the two armies lay face to face, and one night "Lord William Douglas took with him 200 men-at-arms and suddenly brake into the English host about midnight, crying, 'Douglas! Douglas! ye shall all die, thieves of England!' And they slew ere they ceased 300 men, some in their beds, some half ready; and Douglas struck his horse with the spurs and came to the young king's own tent, always crying 'Douglas!' and cut asunder two or three cords thereof with his sword." The English guard

rallied and saved the king; however, Douglas got back unharmed to his own folk. At last the Scots army stole away during the night, and the next day the English found their camp empty, save that there were "more than 500 slaughtered oxen lying there which they had killed, as they could not have driven them fast enough to take them with them, and more than 300 kettles made of hide with the hair outside, full of meat and water, hung on the fires ready for boiling, and more than 1000 spits of wood with meat on them for roasting, and over 10,000 pair of worn-out brogues of undressed hide which the Scots had left." The English, who had been half starved as the country was stripped so bare, got a good meal that day, but they could not push on further. So the young king came back with sorrow and without honour, but men said "that the Scots could have been brought to battle if Mortimer had not betrayed his lord, taking meed and money from the Scots to the intent that they might get away privily by night without fighting." Soon after [March 17, 1328] was made the *Shameful Peace* at Northampton, by which Edward gave up all claims over Scotland, promised to marry his sister Joan of the Tower to David, King Robert's son, and agreed to give back the Scottish crown jewels, while the Scots were to pay £20,000 for the hurt they had done the English by their raids.

2. This peace was made by the queen-mother and the Earl of March, and it displeased the English barons, who were already disgusted at the evil life these two led and at their greed, for they held all the estates of the Despensers and the most part of the Crown lands. It was not worth while to have overthrown former favourites to be ruled by a fresh one. Lancaster tried to get the king's uncles to rise against Mortimer. And they promised him help, but left him in the lurch at the last, and he was obliged to make his peace with March. However, the Earl of Kent did not escape, for he was tried, condemned, and beheaded, March 19, 1330, by reason of certain letters which he had written to his brother, whom he believed to be still alive in Corfe Castle.

But Edward was now married to Philippa of Hainault, and felt himself old enough to rule alone; he therefore readily listened to Lancaster and his friends, who showed him the misdeeds of his mother and Mortimer, and begged him to end their ill rule. Accordingly on 19th October 1330 the young king suddenly broke into the queen-mother's room at Nottingham, by a secret passage which had been left un-

Mortimer is
overthrown,
October 20,
1330.

guarded, and arrested the Earl of March as a traitor, though Isabel prayed him to "have mercy upon her gentle Mortimer." The captive earl was soon tried and found guilty of the murder of Edward II., of taking upon himself the rule of the realm against law and right, of robbing the king of the money paid by the Scots, and of other crimes, and was put to death as a traitor. The queen-mother was sent to Castle Rising, where she spent many years quietly in safe keeping. The young king now for a while gave himself up to pleasure. There were splendid tournaments held at Dartmouth, Stepney, and Cheapside. At the second the king and fifteen knights challenged all comers for three days, riding through the city to the lists in kirtles and cloaks of green cloth lined with red silk, embroidered all over with arrows in gold, their squires following in white kirtles with the right sleeves green and gold-embroidered like their masters. In the third, in Cheapside, the king and fifteen knights appeared masked in Tartar dresses, with long furred gowns and tall caps, every knight having on his right hand a masked lady dressed in a gown of red velvet with a white camlet cape, who led him by a silver chain fastened to his wrist, while sixty squires in one livery went before, with a band of musicians playing trumpets and other instruments, as the company rode two and two through the city.

3. In 1328 Robert the Brus had died, and his son's Council would not fulfil the promises he had made to give back to the English nobles who had lands in Scotland the estates they had lost. The *disinherited lords*, the Earl of Athole, the Earl of Buchan, Lord Liddesdale, Lord Percy, Talbot, and others, at last chose as their leader Edward Balliol, son of King John, and landed at Kinghorn, in Fife, August 7, 1332, being in all 500 mounted men and 3000 on foot. Yet Balliol totally overthrew the Scottish Regent, Donald, Earl of Mar, at *Dupplin Moor*, August 12, and taking Perth, was crowned at Scone, 24th September. To win Edward's favour he agreed to hold Scotland of him and to give him Berwick. The party of King David, however, were not crushed; they sent the little king out of the way of danger to be brought up in France, and by a surprise at *Annan*, 25th December, drove Balliol into England. Here, however, he got help from King Edward, who now openly joined in the war. Archibald Douglas, the new Warden for David, was beaten and slain at *Halidon Hill* by Tweed, July 19, with a dreadful

Edward Balliol
wins and loses
Scotland,
1332-1339.

slaughter of Scottish knights and yeomen. The English song-maker Minot triumphs in this victory:—

“ Scots out of Berwick and out of Aberdeen,
At the Burn of Bannock ye were far too keen.
Many guiltless men ye slew, as was clearly seen.
King Edward has avenged it now, and fully too I ween.
He has avenged it well I ween. Well worth the while!
I bid you all beware of Scots, for they are full of guile.
'Tis now, thou rough-foot, brogue-shod Scot, that begins thy care.
Thou boastful barley-bag-man, thy dwelling is all bare.
False wretch and forsworn, whither wilt thou fare?
Hie thee unto Bruges, seek a better bidding there!
There, wretch, shalt thou stay and wait a weary while;
Thy dwelling in Dundee is lost for ever by thy guile!”

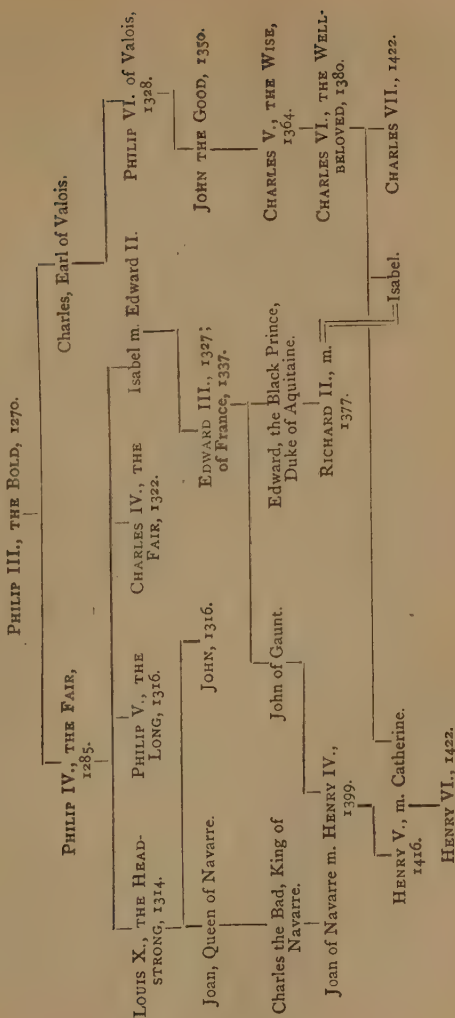
Balliol was once more received as king in Scotland, but when he gave up the Lothians to England in 1334 he was again driven out. And though the two kings marched in full force through the country as far as Inverness in 1335, they could not hold it, and the Warden, Andrew Moray of Bothwell, son of Wallace's friend, overcame and killed Athole, Balliol's bravest leader, at *Culbleen*. Under the next Warden, Walter the Steward, castle after castle was taken by the Scots; while “Black Agnes of Dunbar,” Randolph's daughter, kept her stronghold manfully against the English. So in 1339 Edward Balliol left the country in despair, and two years afterward, when King David came back from France, he took over his kingdom almost as free from foes as his father had left it.

4. Edward of England was however growing less and less inclined to busy himself at present with the reconquest of Scotland; he had wider plans. In 1328 his uncle Charles the Fair had died childless, and he had claimed the French crown in right of his mother; for though the French would not allow a woman to rule their kingdom, he held that descent through a woman was no bar to his right, and that he was nearer of blood to the late king than his cousin Charles of Navarre.

However, the French peers judged the crown to another cousin, Philip of Valois, and Edward, reserving his rights, had twice done homage for Aquitaine to him. But now Philip lent ships to the Scots, which they used to plunder English merchantmen; he was keeping David at his court, and in other ways openly taking the part of the Scots against the English. Edward tried again and again to get Philip to cease to uphold the Scots. He offered to join him in a crusade, to unite their houses by intermarriages; but all of

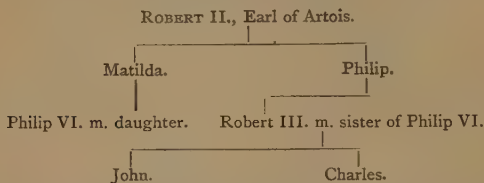
The beginning
of the Hundred
Years' War,
1337.

THE FRENCH SUCCESSION (1328 AND 1422).



no avail, and at last, weary of the French king's covert enmity, he resolved upon open war. To this course many things combined to draw him. There was the old grudge between the English and French kings for several generations owing to their respective claims upon Normandy and Gascony. There were the persuasions of the French exiles at the English Court, especially Robert, Earl of Artois,

THE ARTOIS SUCCESSION.



Philip's brother-in-law, who had done his best to get Philip chosen King of France, but had afterward been deprived of his inheritance and driven abroad by his kinsman. There was the danger of letting the French get hold of the great cities of the Low Countries, which were the chief markets for English wool and goods, and our traders were eager to help the men of Ghent, against their lord the Earl of Flanders, whose cause was upheld by Philip. Accordingly in 1337 Edward gave out that he was about to go to war with Philip to recover his lawful heritage the crown of France, in spite of the warning letters of Pope Benedict XII. (who was afraid of his joining the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria against himself), and he soon afterwards took the title and arms of King of France. The English nobles were not at all displeased to follow a brave young knight to a war in which they ran no danger of hardship or famine, but had good hope of rich plunder and heavy ransom from wealthy prisoners, even if they did not win broad lands and high titles. The English merchants who had suffered by the French and Scottish sea-rovers were glad to think that piracy would be stopped in the Channel, and that they would be able to pay back the Norman privateers for the damage they had done to the coast towns. The English churchmen did not care for the popes, now that they were living at Avignon, away from Rome their own city, and in the power of the French king, and they were glad that they would not be obliged to pay these "French popes" so much money or to see the

best preferments given to their foreign favourites. The Grey Friars and the Oxford Scholars had warmly taken the side of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria in his struggle against John XXII. and Benedict XII. The English people, as far as they thought at all about it, were glad to help their young king to win a fresh kingdom, and liked the thought of having a blow at the French, their old foes. Edward did not go to war without allies. The Emperor Lewis, who saw a chance of using him as a cat's-paw against France, agreed to aid him; the Low Country lords, the Dukes of Brabant and Guelders, the Earl of Hainault, the Archbishop of Cologne and others, wellwishers or kinsfolk, also joined him; and he made friends with James of Artaveldt, the Master-Brewer of Gaunt, who was the leader of the great towns of Flanders and a sturdy hater of the French. Philip on his part found friends in the Kings of Navarre, Sicily, and Scotland, who sided with him out of kinship or need, and in John, King of Bohemia, who was the rival of Lewis and head of the imperial house of Luxemburg.

5. The first campaign of a struggle which was to occupy three generations of Englishmen and Frenchmen was not very glorious to either side. Edward landed in Flanders, went to Coblentz, when the Emperor sold him the *Vicariate* of the West of the Empire, and then with more than 30,000 men beset Cambray. But this city was too strong to be carried by storm; and when the English began to make raids into France the German nobles and knights refused to join them. The French king, who had 100,000 men in his host, would not fight a pitched battle, though the armies lay face to face for some days. By the end of 1339, Edward having spent all his money and exhausted his credit, was obliged to go home for more. His Parliament received him well, and granted him large supplies, while he agreed to several useful and notable statutes. The *first* orders the sheriffs to be yearly appointed in the Exchequer Court, and limits purveyance; the *second* completes the *Confirmatio Cartarum* by abolishing tallage of any kind, even on domain land, without consent of Parliament; the *third* declaring that the English crown shall never be under the French crown, though both be held by one man; the *fourth* frees the clergy from purveyance and other royal exactions. Meanwhile Philip had set a large army on the Flemish marches, and gathered a fleet of 500 ships at *Sluys* under Sir Hugh Kiriell the Breton, Sir Peter Bahucet a Norman, and Blackbeard the Genoese corsair, to stop the landing of the English and cripple their

trade. Among them were the galley-men who had sacked Southampton and taken the king's own ship the Christofer in 1338. On June 22nd Edward sailed with 300 ships against them in spite of his Council's advice, and on the 24th, "at the dawn when the sun was rising, he beheld his foes so strongly arrayed that they were very terrible to look at, for the ships of the French fleet were so strongly lashed together with great chains, and fitted with great castles, brettices, and barricades. Nevertheless Sir Edward our king spake to all those that were about him of the English fleet: 'Fair lords and brethren, be not dismayed for aught, but be all of good courage, for he that shall do battle for me to-day, and shall fight with a good brave heart, will have the blessing of God Almighty, and every man shall have whatever he can take.' Then our sailors hoisted their sails half-mast high, and hauled up their anchors as if they were about to fly; and when the French navy saw this they unlashed their great chains to follow us, and with that our ships sailed back upon them, and the battle began with the sound of trumpets, drums, viols, and tabors and other kinds of music."

The campaign
of 1339 and
1340. Cam-
bray, Sluys,
and Tournay.

"And the wavering wind that rose out of the west,
Blowing blithely and fair in the breadth of our sails,
Drove the big burly cogs [great ships] aboard of each other.
So strongly our stems struck the bows of their galleys
That the breastworks and bulwarks were bursten asunder.
Then we cast across grapplings from one craft to the other,
And hewed at the head-ropes that held up their masts.
At the strokes of the sword-blades the masts swayed and tottered
And fell down on the foredecks, destroying all beneath them.
From the boats that lay by the stones beat on the foe,
And our archers and arblastmen kept shooting eagerly,
As fast as when hail falls fiercest in winter,
And our engineers ever their bullets were uttering,
Till the French dared not front us nor lift up their faces.
Then boldly on board sprung the barons in mail,
And to hand-fight they fell, fencing cruelly with spears,
With the royal rank steel the war-harness rending,
Breaking through breastplates, burnished helms cleaving,
And shredding the shields with well-sharpened blades.
Thus they dealt all that day those bold doughty champions,
Till their foes were all felled or flung into the waters."

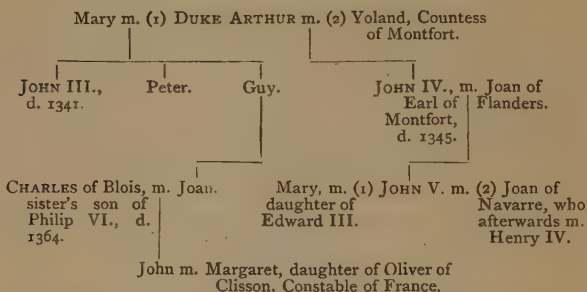
"For the battle was so stiff and stern that the onset lasted from noon all day and all night and the morrow till the hour of prime, and when the battle was over there was no Frenchman left alive but Spaudfish, who fled with twenty-four ships and galleys." This victory delighted the English merchants,

and proved that the English archers, rightly used, were better than any foot-soldiers who could be brought against them. It also forced Philip to give up all plans for carrying the war into England. Edward then with his allies besieged *Tournay*, "assaulting it six times a day, with his springalds and mangonels [catapults and war-slings] casting huge stones, and with engines of powder and fire [cannons], so that these engines with their huge stones broke down the towers and the strong walls, churches, belfries, strong halls, fine buildings, and rich dwellings throughout the said city; and the people within the city were all but perished by reason of the great famine that was in the city, for they were so straitly held that the quarter of barley was worth £4 sterling [equal to £50], the quarter of oats 2 marks, an egg 6d., two onions for a penny." And they must have yielded up the town if Edward had not been willing, for lack of money to go on with the siege, to make a truce, September 25, at *Esplocin*, at the prayer of the Countess Dowager of Hainault, Edward's mother-in-law and Philip's sister. Not being able to get silver from England, the young king hurried home secretly, November 30, leaving his cousin and other nobles with the Flemings in pledge for his debts. Next day he turned out all the ministers, the chief-justices, and other of his servants from their offices, believing them to have misused their power and kept back his moneys. John of Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the ministry, fled to sanctuary, and denying the charges brought against him by the king's *libellus famosus* [pamphlet of accusations], refused to make answer save before his peers in Parliament. But the king denied him the entry to the House till a committee of lords reported that *peers, whether royal officers or not, cannot be put to judgment, nor lose goods or land, nor be arrested, outlawed, or judged, save in full Parliament before the Peers*, when Edward gave way, and was reconciled with John. Before fresh supplies were granted the king was obliged first to promise (a) that all moneys received should be audited by a board chosen in Parliament, and (b) that he would not choose ministers without consent of his Council, and (c) that at each Parliament ministers were to resign and be compelled to answer all complaints before they could be reappointed. But when he had got his money, October 1, 1341, Edward recalled the statutes he had made, saying that "we should never have consented to the putting forth of the said statute save to avoid greater perils," wherefore "we dissembled as we were bound to do, and allowed it

to be sealed." In 1343 Parliament itself revoked the statutes on the understanding that most of them were to be re-enacted.

6. A fresh dispute between Philip and Edward arose in 1341, upon the death of John, Duke of Brittany, whose duchy was claimed by his half-brother John, Earl of Montfort, and by Philip's nephew, Charles of Blois, husband of the dead duke's niece Joan. Charles was adjudged duke by the peers of France, but Montfort would not accept

THE SUCCESSION TO BRITTANY.

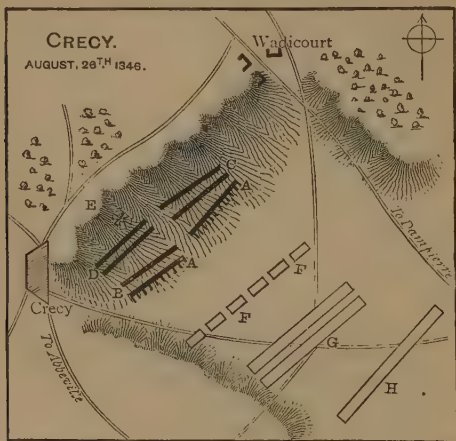


their ruling, and crossing to England, claimed help of Edward. Soon after his return he was taken prisoner, but his wife, Joan of Flanders, held out in Hennebon against the French and Charles of Blois till she was relieved by Sir Walter Mauny, the gallant knight of Hainault, whom Edward sent to help her. This succour was followed by forces under Robert, Earl of Artois, who was made Earl of Richmond, and an army under Edward himself; but the French party were too strong to be driven out, and Pope Clement VI. obtained a truce, 1343, by which John of Montfort was to be freed. However, Philip kept him at Paris till he escaped in disguise to England, 1345, whence he came back to Hennebon, where he died, leaving Edward guardian to his son. It was clear that these truces would hardly lead to anything: the Normans were again privateering in the Channel, and the French king trying to seize Guienne, so Parliament begged Edward to begin open war again or make a good peace at once. An army was at once sent to Gascony under Henry Grismond, Earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster, while the king himself went to Flanders to try and win that earldom

The campaigns
of 1345-1347.
Auberoche,
Crecy, Neville's
Cross, Calais.

for his son, July 1345. But his friend James of Artavelde was murdered in a town riot at Ghent, and he returned empty-handed. News now came that John, the French king's son (who had been sent to the south with a great host after the easy victory of Derby at *Auberoche*, June 1345, over the Earl of Lisle), was pressing the English hard in Guienne. Edward therefore sailed to his aid, but stopping on the way, by the counsel of Sir Geoffrey of Harcourt, a Norman outlaw, landed at La Hogue, intending to strike at the now defenceless north of France. Taking Caen and other cities on his way, from which he sent much spoil and many prisoners to England, he marched west to join the Flemings, who had already broken into Picardy. But Philip had destroyed all the bridges on the lower Seine, and Edward had to turn up the south bank in hopes of finding a crossing, the French king, with an army which grew bigger every day as Edward's dwindled with sickness and losses, following him on the other bank. At last by a feigned attack on Paris, Edward gained a few hours to repair the broken bridge at Poissy, crossed it safely, and made north again to the Somme, with Philip close at his heels. After seeking some time for a ford, he luckily found one at *Blanketake*, hard by Abbeville, and got his army across in the teeth of a French force before Philip could come up. He now halted in a strong position at *Crecy* and rested his weary men. Next day Philip's army came up from Abbeville, marching through a terrible thunderstorm, and preceded by a cloud of birds frightened by the weather or by an eclipse which took place that morning. The men were so tired and wet that the leaders begged Philip to halt and get his army into good order that day, and attack on the morrow. But when he saw the English all drawn up in order on the hillside, under the banner of his rival, "he hated them, and bade the Genoese crossbowmen begin the attack." Their strings were slack with the rain, and they told the Constable of France that they were not fit to fight that day. But he called them cowards and told them to fall on. The sun shone out in the Frenchmen's faces as the battle began at five o'clock. "When they drew near, the Genoese made a great leap and cry to abash the English, but they stood still and stirred not for all that. And a second time they made another leap and a dreadful cry, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot. Again they leapt and cried, and went forward till they came within shot, then they shot fiercely with their crossbows. Then the English archers stepped forward one pace and let fly their arrows so hotly

and so thick that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms, and breasts, many of them cast down their crossbows and cut their strings, and ran back discomfited. When the French king saw them flying, he said, 'Slay those rascals, for they will hinder us and block up our path for nothing.' Then you should have seen the men-at-arms dash in among them and kill a great number thereof, and still the Englishmen kept shooting wherever they saw the thickest press; and the sharp arrows ran into the men-at-arms and into their horses, and many fell among the Genoese, and when they were down they could not get up again, for the press was so thick that one overthrew the other. Also among the English soldiers were certain



- A.A.* Archers.
- B.* Prince of Wales' division.
- C.* Arundel's division.
- D.* King Edward's division.

- E.* Windmill where the king stood.
- F.* Genoese crossbowmen.
- G.* Alençon's division.
- H.* King Philip with main body.

Cornishmen and Welsh that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the French and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, earls, barons, knights, and squires, whereat the King of England was afterward displeased, for he had rather they had been taken for their ransoms." Into this struggling mass the French knights

charged in vain, but some passing round it, pressed the two first English lines hard, so that the Prince's knights sent a message to the king on the windmill hill for help. "Is my son dead, or hurt, or felled to the ground?" asked Edward. "No, sir, but hardly matched." "Then go back to them that sent you, and tell them to send to me no more whatever betide as long as my son is alive, and bid them let him win his spurs, for, please God, I wish this day and the honour thereof to be his, and those that are with him." And they that heard it were mightily encouraged by the king's words. Our men fought on steadily in good order, and the French, who were broken up into small parties, were completely defeated by sunset, having lost nearly all their commanders. The King of Bohemia, who wished to strike a blow at the English, and was led into the fight between two of his knights, for he was dim of sight, was killed in the forefront of the battle. There fell also the King of Majorca, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Constable, with 1200 knights and more than 20,000 commoners. Philip was wounded in the throat and thigh, and had a horse killed under him, but he would not turn away till the battle was clearly lost. The English lit fires where they stood, and waited for the day gladly enough. And the king came down to the field and said to his son, "Sweet son, God grant you to go on as you have begun. You had quitted yourself well to-day, you are worthy to be a king." But the Prince bowed and gave all the honour to his father. On the next morning the English defeated a fresh body of troops who stumbled upon them in the fog, and when the mist cleared they were able to cut off the French stragglers who had lurked about the woods and fields, so that there fell more that day than on the Saturday. Edward's way was now clear, and he resolved to lay siege to *Calais*; for all was going on well in the south, now that John of Normandy had been forced to withdraw from the siege of *Aiguillon* and hasten to the help of his father.

While Edward lay in front of *Calais* the English had two more successes. David, King of Scotland, who had come back from France, was led by Philip's letters to invade England. The knights and yeomen of the northern counties mustered under the Archbishop of York and the Border Wardens, Lords Neville and Percy, and set themselves in array at a place afterwards known as *Neville's Cross*, October 17, 1346. The English archers completely foiled the attacks of the Scottish knights, and scattered them with great slaughter; King David was made prisoner by Squire

John of Copeland, and the invaders fled in haste. The captive prince was sent to the Tower amid great rejoicing. Soon after this, June 20, 1347, Charles of Blois was taken prisoner by Sir Thomas Dagworth at *la Roche d'Errein* and lodged in the same stronghold. Meanwhile all the French attempts to victual or relieve Calais were vain, and the governor, John of Vienne, at last wrote to Philip :—

The town suffereth great lack of corn and wine and meat, for know that there is nought but what hath been eaten, both dogs, cats, and horses, so that we cannot find anything else in the town to eat save we eat the flesh of men. Ye wrote us aforetime that I should hold the town as long as there was aught to eat, but now we are at the point of having no more to eat. Wherefore, my right dear and redoubted lord, provide such remedy as shall seem fittest to you ; for if remedy and counsel be not shortly provided, ye will have no more letters from me, and the town will be lost and all we that are therein.

Philip led a great army to relieve it at Whitsuntide 1347, but he dared not attack Edward, and as Edward would not leave his quarters to fight in the open, he retreated, leaving the town to its fate. John of Vienne thereupon yielded at Edward's mercy. The English king treated his prisoners well, and suffered all those burgesses who would swear fealty to him to stay in the town, the others he replaced by Englishmen. He further gave the city great privileges as a market-town, and it rapidly grew and flourished under his rule. It was probably in remembrance of its capture that Edward made the *Order of the Garter*, a brotherhood of twenty-five knights. Calais was of the highest value to the English kings so long as the Hundred Years' War lasted, for it was one of the gates of the Channel and an open doorway into France. The French felt the loss heavily, and as early as December 31, 1348, tried to regain it in time of peace by bribing Edward's governor ; but he was angry at seeing his honour doubted, and lured his tempters into the castle, when after a short but deadly struggle, in which King Edward himself took part, they were all taken or slain. As soon as Calais had surrendered, Pope Clement, who had done all he could to make peace, was able to get Philip and Edward to agree to a truce, 28th September, which save in Brittany held till 1355, the only exploit performed in the interval being the sea-fight off *Winchelsea*, August 29, 1350. A fleet of privateers from Biscay under the Earl of la Cerda had on their way to Flanders plundered English ships and murdered their crews. Edward put out in search of them, and came upon them as they were sailing back from

the Scheldt laden with cloth and bullion. The English vessels were small, and the Spaniards from their high decks were able to sink the king's and the Prince's ship with blows of beams and stones; but the English boarded their enemies and took twenty-four of them after a fierce fight. After this the Biscay towns were glad to make a twenty years' peace with Edward, and the Channel was again open to English merchants.

7. A more terrible ill than war itself suddenly fell upon Western Europe in 1348—the Black Death, The Black Death, 1349. by whose attacks (repeated in 1361, 1369, 1407) at least half the population of England and France were swept away. Its first and worst visit lasted from August 1, 1348, to Michaelmas 1349, and while it raged in London 200 bodies a day were laid in Smithfields New Graveyard, besides all those buried in the parish churchyards. These plagues brought about much change in England. For, owing to the great lack of labour, wages and prices rose rapidly, in spite of the *Statute of Labourers* and other decrees to fix maximum prices of food, and to allow the justices of the peace to settle the wages of day-labourers and craftsmen. Serfs ran away from their lords and hired themselves out as free workmen, labourers got what wages they chose at hay-making and harvest-tide, farms were left untilld, as the lords found it would not pay them to keep so much land under the plough, since the cost of tillage had doubled. They therefore in many cases freed and turned off their serfs, let out their farms at fixed money rates (as the bishops and monks had long been used to do), and took to sheep-farming and cattle-raising, which needed many less hands than tillage, and turned largespaces of land to good account in the cheapest way, for England was now wool-grower for all Western Europe. In a word, the rise of the serfs into free labourers, the replacing of customary tenants bound to labour by tenant-farmers paying money-rent, and the increase of the large estates needed for sheep-walks and grazing-meads are largely due to the Black Death. It also permanently lowered the value of gold and silver. The relative strength of the nations of Europe was little changed by it, as it treated all alike, but it had a great effect upon men's thoughts and ways for two generations.

8. Parliament was not idle during the truce. The growing discontent of the English king and people with the conduct of the popes was marked by the *Statute of Provisors*, 1351, forbidding the Pope's encroachments upon the rights of

church patrons ; the *Statute of Præmunire*, 1353, threatened all who sued in foreign courts (viz. those at Avignon) without the king's leave with heavy penalties ; and these were completed in 1365 by the refusal of Parliament to pay Pope Urban V. the yearly rent granted by John, on the grounds that his surrender of the kingdom to the Pope had not been agreed to by the nation. Nor were other matters overlooked :

Edward's laws in 1352 the *Statute of Treason* was passed
and family declaring exactly what that offence was ; in 1353
settlements. the *Ordinance of the Staple* provided that wool, woolfells, leather, lead, and tin should only be sold at certain *staple ports*—London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Lincoln, Newcastle, Norwich, York, Caermarthen, Dublin, Cork, Drogheda, Waterford, Middleburgh (in Zealand), and Calais—and by merchants enrolled in the Company of the Staple [selling scaffold]. In this way it was easy to regulate trade and to collect taxes on exports. In 1357 the *Ordinance of Ireland* was made, in which the king promises the people of the Pale the same rights and laws as the English, forbids government save by Parliament, orders yearly inquiry to be made into the behaviour of the sheriffs and royal officers, and commands the Deputy and other governors to tell the king the truth as to the state of things in Ireland.

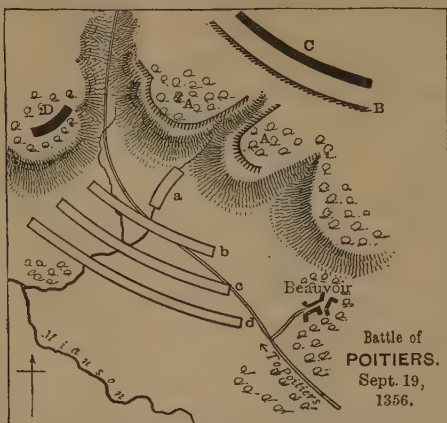
King Edward had a large family, and he provided for them by marrying them to his rich wards, and by appointing them as rulers over parts of his dominions : thus he made Edward of Woodstock, his eldest son, Duke of Aquitaine, and married him to his cousin the heiress of Kent ; his second son, Lionel of Antwerp, he married to the heiress of Ulster, named Duke of Clarence, and sent as Deputy to Ireland, where he passed the *Statute of Kilkenny*, 1366, in which he tried to stop the English of the Pale from mixing with or living like the wild Irish, for the English lords turned out their own tenants and replaced them by Irishmen, whom they had more power over, and who were more faithful to their interests, so that the Pale was falling back into lawlessness and private war. Lionel was also to have been King of Scotland if David could have got his nobles to take him as his heir, and he might have striven for the crown at David's death if he had not died in Italy in 1368. John of Gaunt was first married to the heiress of Lancaster, the "good Duchess Blanche," and from a second marriage (as will be seen) drew claims upon the crown of Castile. Of John's younger brothers, Edmund of Langley was espoused to the heiress of Flanders, and Thomas of Woodstock married to one of the heiresses of

the Earl of Hereford. Thus Edward had got together in his own family all the older earldoms of England. He also bestowed greater dignity upon his kinsfolk than any king before him, by giving dukedoms to Henry, Earl of Lancaster, 1351, and to his sons, Edward (Duke of Cornwall, 1337) and Lionel (Duke of Clarence, 1362). His daughters he married to those whom he thought would be of service to him—Isabel to Ingelram of Coucy, created Earl of Bedford 1354, Mary to John V. of Brittany, while Joan was betrothed to Peter of Castile, and Margaret to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke.

9. The French war broke out again in 1355 in spite of all Pope Innocent XI. could do, as the new king John II. refused to make peace. The Black Prince began by leading a *Seven Weeks' Raid* into South France as far as Carcassonne, threatening the Pope at Avignon, and coming back to Bordeaux unhindered with the plunder of 500 harried towns and villages. His father started on a similar foray from Calais, but was called home to fight the Scots, who took Berwick, but were repaid in kind by an invasion long talked of as the *Burnt Candle-mas*, in which wellnigh every town in the Lowlands was fired. King Edward then got his friend Edward Balliol to give him his rights to the crown of Scotland, which might be useful to him in the future, and turned homeward to hear the good news of his son's victory at *Poitiers*. The Black Prince had repeated his raid in 1356, but towards the north-east. This time the French were ready, and when he turned back he found himself cut off from the sea by King John at the head of an army five times the size of his own. He would fain have made peace now, but John was so sure of his prey that he refused him fair terms. Edward therefore prepared to sell his life as dearly as possible. He drew up his little company at the top of a cleft in the hills near Poitiers known as *Maupertuis* [the Ill-Chine], lined the vine-clad hedges along the sides of the lane that ran up the Chine with archers, and placed an ambush well in front of his right wing on a detached height. At nine o'clock the French made a headlong onslaught, but their first column was mown down in the steep lane by the English archers, while a flank attack broke their second line, and the Prince charging upon their main body completed their discomfiture. By noon the French were in full flight, most of their leaders slain, and King John himself, who had struggled bravely on foot to the last, a captive in the Prince's hands. So

The campaigns
of 1355, 1356.
Poitiers.

many prisoners were taken that the English preferred to let them go at once on parole rather than risk guarding them with their small numbers. The Prince's army had fought



- A. Archers lining sides of Maupertuis.
 B. Archers.
 C. Main body under Prince of Wales.
 D. Ambush for flank attack.

- a. The Marshal's division.
 b. Duke of Orleans' division.
 c. Dauphin's division.
 d. King John's division.

with the courage of despair, for few of the footmen had tasted food for three days. King John was taken to England and France was left at the mercy of her foes. The Estates of the realm met and appointed a council to govern under the Regent, John's eldest son, till the king could be ransomed. But the Regent was at odds with the Estates; his cousin Charles, King of Navarre, the favourite of the Commons of Paris, was trying to win the crown for himself; and the peasants, disgusted at the quarrels and cowardice of their worthless rulers, who dared to grind them down and murder each other, but were not able to defend their country, rose in the midst of France and massacred all the gentlefolk they could lay hands on, till the English Gascon and German knights went to help the French nobles and put down the *Jacquerie*, as it was called, from Jacques Bonhomme [James Goodman], the nickname of the French serf. The English meanwhile beset Rheims and Paris, 1359 and 1360, to force the Regent to submit to their terms. At last, in 1360, at *Bretigny* a final peace was signed, by which John was to be

ransomed at 3,000,000 gold crowns and to give up all rights upon Calais and Guienne, while the English king was to let drop his claims on the crown of France.



10. So the main war ended, but there was no perfect peace in Edward's days. After Bretigny the *Free Companies*, bands of hired soldiers who had served the French and English kings in the last campaigns, became a terror to France, till they were got rid of in divers ways. Ingelram of Coucy brought one band of them, the *Guglers*, through Burgundy into Switzerland, where they were beaten by the men of Bern. Sir John Hawkwood took the *White Company* into Italy and served the city of Florence with them till his death. The *Great Company* went to Avignon and made the Pope pay them a large sum before Bertrand du Glesquin, the famous Breton captain, led them across the Pyrenees to help Henry of Trastamar against his half-brother, Peter the Cruel, King of Castile. Peter thereupon went to Bordeaux, espoused his two

The French and Spanish wars, 1360-1377.

daughters Constance and Isabel to John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley, and got the Black Prince to bring an army to aid him to win back his throne. In the decisive battle of 3rd April 1367, when the river *Najara* ran red for a mile, the English overthrew Henry and took Bertrand prisoner; but Peter would not fulfil his promises of pay, and fever-stricken and disappointed, the Prince came back to Bordeaux. Peter, left to himself, was soon taken and slain by his brother Henry, and John of Gaunt forthwith claimed the crown of Castile, in pursuit of which he was engaged ever and anon till 1388. The end of the Black Prince's career abroad was not happy; his harshness to the Gascons caused their appeal to John's son King Charles V. in 1369, and led to breach of the treaty of Bretigny and French invasions in 1370. This was repelled, and *Limoges*, which had gladly received the invaders, was retaken by the Prince himself, who ordered a massacre of the townsfolk as traitors, and saw it carried out. But the Spaniards balanced his successful defence of Gascony by the defeat and capture of the Earl of Pembroke off the port of *Rochelle*, which he was about to relieve from a French attack, June 23, 1372; and Bertrand du Glesquin (who had been ransomed by the Pope) drove John of Montfort the younger from the duchy he had held ever since Charles of Blois was slain at *Auray* in 1364. In 1373, being broken in health and unfit for war, Prince Edward gave up his duchy of Aquitaine and came home, John of Gaunt taking his place for a while as Captain-General. But though the French let the young Duke of Lancaster march through France from Calais to Bordeaux without giving him battle, they managed bit by bit to win castle after castle and town after town on the Gascon marches, and to drive Montfort out of Brittany a second time in 1375. The English were fast finding out that it was easier to win battles than to hold what they already had, and that the expense of keeping up garrisons and feeding armies soon ate up all the profits of the most successful raids and the largest ransoms.

11. Struggles against misrule in Church and State fill the last years of Edward's reign. The growing feeling of laymen with regard to the former has been noticed, but there were not lacking churchmen who saw the evils in their midst. Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, had spent his life in preaching against the sins into which the orders of the friars had fallen. Ockham and others had taken their stand against the greed and abuses of the Pope and his court, and Thomas of Bradwardine, King Edward's chaplain, the "deep

doctor," Archbishop of Canterbury, had written against what he thought the mistakes of theologians. "The gospel doctor," John Wycliff, was now to take up these men's work and carry it into a wider field; for he was not content with teaching in the Oxford schools or preaching at the Church of S. Mary's, but continually appealed to the Government and to Parliament, and laid the points at issue before laymen in their own tongue by his pamphlets and his new order of "wayfaring preachers." Born about 1320, he won fame at Oxford by his good life, fine lectures, and bold philosophical views. He was Fellow of Balliol College about 1345, Master of Balliol 1361, Warden of Canterbury Hall 1365, and Doctor of Theology about 1370. His ability and learning led to his being named one of the commissioners who were sent to Bruges in 1374 to try and make a *Concordat* [agreement] with the Pope as to his rights over the English Church. On his return he began to write against the abuses of the Church, laying great stress upon the need of a holy life in all priests and bishops, setting forth his idea of what a true Church should be, and calling upon laymen to put the Church in order since it was clearly turning aside from its duties in the pursuit of wealth and honours. The friars were pleased with his praise of the poverty of the early Church, and John of Gaunt, who had known him at Bruges, wished to use him against William of Wyckham and the other bishops who were withstanding his plans of government. So when in February 1377 Wycliff was called before Convocation for his teaching, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl Marshal spoke so threateningly to the Bishop of London that the enraged Londoners rose in riot, sacked the Savoy Palace, sought to slay the duke, and caused such confusion that the matter was obliged to be dropped, though the city was punished by having its rights taken away for a time. However the bishops got Bulls from Pope Gregory XI. to examine Wycliff; but they were not put into force till February 1378, after King Edward's death, when he appeared in London and explained away the accusations against him. As the Princess of Wales forbade the Court to judge him, and the Londoners, with whom he was at this time very popular, broke into the room and took his part with warmth, he again escaped his foes.

John Wycliff,
his views and
career, 1374-
1378.

12. In his latter days King Edward gave less and less heed to the ruling of the kingdom, especially after the death of his good queen Philippa in 1369, and left matters much in the hands of his favourites, chief of whom were the Earl of

Pembroke and John of Gaunt, who were careful to trouble him as little as possible; for he shrunk from the task of helping his ministers, William of Wyckham the Chancellor and Brantingham the Treasurer (Bishops of Winchester and Exeter), in their thankless toil of getting money to carry on a war which was growing more costly and less glorious every day. He simply let matters take their course. In 1360 he had agreed to a law fixing the number and duties of the justices of the peace, who were now taking the place and doing the work of the old hundred courts touching all offences against the king's peace. In 1362, willing to please his people, he ordered that English, not French, should be used in the courts of law, and that all records should be kept in Latin, and promised that he would lay on no tax whatever without the consent of Parliament; for hitherto he, like his father, had often got the merchants to agree to taxes on their goods so as to avoid being obliged to ask money of the Three Estates, whom they could not cajole so easily. In 1371 the Earl of Pembroke got the Parliament to beg of the king to dismiss his clerical ministers and take laymen in their stead, and he did so; and in 1372 an Act was passed forbidding lawyers or sheriffs to sit in Parliament. But the government by John of Gaunt and his friends was growing unpopular—they spent as much and did no more than their foregoers—and in 1376 the former ministers, headed by the princes of Wales and William of Wyckham, regained power in the *Good Parliament*. Peter de la Mare, a follower of John of Gaunt's rival, the Earl of March, was chosen Speaker, and he headed the Commons in impeaching [accusing before the Lords] Richard Lyon and Barons Latimer and Neville for embezzling the government moneys, for buying the king's debts at low prices, and getting full and instant payment to the hurt of the king's credit, for lending the king money at thirty-three per cent. interest, and for making a profit out of the customs. They were all found guilty, sent to prison, and fined. The Commons then prayed the king to issue a decree against women meddling in the law courts, by which means they were able to have Alice Perrers, his favourite, banished from court, for she had abused her power over the king to cause the judges to give unjust sentences on behalf of those who bribed her to speak for them. In the midst of this Parliament the Black Prince died, June 8, 1376, to the great grief of his party, whereon the Commons, fearing lest John of Gaunt should try to seize the crown when the old king died, got

Home affairs,
1360-1377. The
Good Parlia-
ment.

Edward to name Richard, the Prince's little son, his heir, and to add nine lords named by them to his Standing Council. But directly the Parliament broke up John of Gaunt overthrew all it had done, turned the Earl of March out of the Marshalcy, had William of Wyckham tried and banished for misuse of public moneys, imprisoned Peter de la Mare without trial, recalled Alice Perrers and the impeached lords. Moreover, he managed to get the greater number of the Commons in the Parliament of 1377 chosen from among his friends, and so ensured their approval of his acts. He was able to do this because, besides those who feared or loved him, there were still many, such as Wycliff and the friars, who upheld him as the enemy of the bishops.

13. On June 2, 1377, the old king died. Alice Perrers was with him all through his illness, for she was afraid of any one else winning influence over him. But when she saw that he was at the point of death, she pulled the rings off his cold hands and fled, while the servants were busy plundering the palace; and had it not been for a priest who came in and stayed with him till the last, the helpless sufferer would have been left to die unheeded and alone.

Edward III.'s
character and
death.

Edward was a man of a wonderfully fair face and noble bearing, as his effigies witness to this day; of exceeding grace of manner and much good-nature, as his name of the "kindly king" testifies. He did not lack book-learning, and could speak five languages. That he was a brave knight and a prudent commander even his enemies allowed. He was singularly even-tempered, not easily cast down by trouble or roused to anger by opposition or puffed up by success. But, on the other hand, he was selfish, and so preferred to be generous to his enemies rather than pay his debts to his friends, would rather be popular at other men's cost than take the blame of his own mistakes, and was ready to sacrifice his faithful servants if he could save himself the trouble of taking an active and toilsome part in the work of keeping down his expenses. His love for pleasure stained his latter days, and his thirst for fame led to much useless and wicked bloodshed both in England and France, and brought no small disasters upon those of his race whom his great deeds dazzled and example misled.

CHAPTER IV.

Richard II. of Bordeaux, 1377-1399.

1. After a grand coronation, July 16, the new reign began with a reconciliation of the two parties. William of Wickham and John of Gaunt were set at one, the two parties of the Londoners under Wycliff's helper, John of Northampton, and John Philpot, the bishops' partisan, made friends. Peter de la Mare was let out of prison. The Bishops of S. David and Worcester were made chancellor and treasurer, a council was chosen to carry on the government with them, and the king, a lad of eleven years old, was left to the care of his mother. When Parliament met it added nine members to the Council, and laid down *that Acts passed in Parliament should not be set aside save by Parliament, and that while the king was under age Parliament should choose his ministers.* But John of Gaunt was still the chief man in the realm; and though he had disclaimed in full Parliament all enmity to his brother's son, and his wishes for the good of the realm, he was disliked and mistrusted by many. The French and Scots had got fleets of privateers in the Channel, and the east coast, the Isle of Wight, Rye, and Winchelsea suffered from their raids, and later on they harried Portsmouth and the Thames mouth, burning Gravesend, 1380. The expedition of Duke John and his brother Edmund to S. Malo in 1378 was of small profit, for though Charles, King of Navarre, gave up his fortresses in Normandy, amongst others Cherbourg, to get English help against the King of Castile, the French won them nearly all. Even Montfort's recall to Brittany in 1379 availed little, for the Bretons only wished to play off the one kingdom against the other, and so to keep their freedom. Thus when the Earl of Buckingham marched from Calais to Vannes to their help, they would scarcely give his host food or shelter, and in 1380 forced their duke to send them away and make peace with the new King of France, Charles VI. Lancaster's blundering and mismanagement was made the more clear by the successes of others. For Sir Hugh Calverley with his one galley saved our transports at *Brest* from the French and Spanish fleet; while John Philpot fitted out a few craft of his own, and took the Scottish sea-rover John the Mercer, 1380, "spending his

John of Gaunt's
unlucky govern-
ment, 1377-
1381.

money and jeoparding his life for the sake of the poor people and realm of England, and not at all to rob knights of the garland of glory" (as he told the nobles who grudged him his victory); and John Bassett won back Berwick from the Scots by his ready action. Moreover, the wanton and reckless behaviour of the duke's followers, who slew a knight in lawful *sanctuary* in Westminster Abbey itself, made the Londoners and bishops hate him more than ever. So that the duke would not hold Parliament in London, but got it to sit at *Northampton*, where by Wycliff's help he tried to get the right of sanctuary done away with, save when the refugee's life or limbs were in danger. But the Houses were taken up with the ways of meeting the sums needed for the defence of the realm. A fresh toll or *subsidy* was set upon wool, and a *poll-tax* laid upon every grown-up person in the kingdom according to his means, from the labourer or workwoman's 4d. up to the duke and archbishop's £6, 13s. 4d. But the wool-tax only brought in £6000, and the poll-tax £22,000, so that at *Northampton* next year the ministers reported that they should want £160,000. Astonished at this huge sum, and forgetting that the buying-power of money was less than it had been, the Parliament angrily turned out the ministry, audited the accounts, and refused to raise more than £100,000, of which the clergy, owning a third of the land, were to pay a third, the rest was to be got by a treble poll-tax, one of the results of which was the Peasants' Rising of 1381, long remembered with horror as *Hurling-time*.

2. Many causes met at this time to make the English poor unhappy and troubled. In the country the serfs, seeing the welfare of their free fellows, were longing to be free themselves; the free labourers were angry with the laws that tried to beat down wages; the customary tenants disliked having to give up so much of their time without pay to the lords, and grumbled at the dues of the manor; the free tenants and yeomen suffered from the heavy market-tolls, the occasional purveyance, and the continual taxes, which as far as they could see were wasted by the Government. In many parts of the country the forest laws were very hateful, and led to much angry feeling, outlaws and poachers, such as the songs of Robin Hood tell of, being the heroes of the country-side. In the towns the labourers suffered from the selfish guild laws, which raised the cost of food. The craftsmen in the guilds were struggling hard to wrest the control of the towns from the rich burghess families, who managed matters for

The causes of
the Peasants'
Rising.

their own benefit ; while both classes hated the *foreigners*, whose quickness and skill enabled them to undersell and outbid them in many ways, and the *speculators*, "forestallers, regraters, and engrossers," who forced up the price of food, and hoarded the money that was wanted for daily trade. The enmity between the friars and the endowed clergy raged as fiercely as ever, and the poor chaplains, who since the plague had been left by the rich rectors and vicars in charge of many of the country parishes, were indignant at the remissness and greed of their richer brethren. Nor were these feelings only shown in words. In the home counties the labourers formed *clubs* to resist the laws fixing wages ; the freed bondsmen appealed to the courts against the lords, who were trying in many cases to get them back into bondage ; the customary tenants resisted the encroachments of the manor-stewards. They were encouraged by the old soldiers, who came back from the wars boasting that the yeoman's arrow was more than a match for the knight's spear, and telling how the fullers and webbers of Ghent and Bruges under James of Artaveld and John Lyon had won their freedom by standing together shoulder to shoulder against their cruel lord the Earl of Flanders. They were flattered by the friars' praise of poverty and mockery of the rich ; they were emboldened by Wycliff's *poor priests*, who preached the doctrine that property and power were only lawfully held by those who were pious and godly, and that a bad rich man had no right to his lands or goods. But the man who more than any one else tried to get the poor to stand up for themselves and demand reforms was John Ball, the priest of S. Mary's, York, who began travelling through Kent and Essex, holding forth to the people on their wrongs and the best ways of mending them. He often used in his sermons and letters the words of William Langland, a poor clerk of London, who had written a set of English poems called *Dreams about Piers the Plowman*, allegories in which he boldly showed up the vices of the day, talking of Lady Bribery and her power at court, of Lord Lust and Master Simony, and their influence with the clergy and gentry ; exhorting men to be patient, reasonable, kindly, and to follow the example of Piers the plowman, the honest, hardworking, dutiful man who will not be turned from his right work by hardship or temptation ; calling men to come and defend Conscience, who is closely besieged by the Seven Deadly Sins ; and praying them to walk in the steps of Do-well, Do-better, and Do-best, the types of holiness, uprightness, and

welldoing. The characters of these poems soon became as well known among the peasants by the preaching of Ball and his friend Wraw as those of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* are to us. John Ball spoke with power, his pithy sayings could not be forgotten. In one of his sermons he makes his text of the famous couplet—

“ When Adam dalf and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman? ”

He said that all men were equal and all things common in the beginning, that England would never be at rest till slavery was done away with and things more fairly shared, so that those who did the work should have a better part of the profit thereof. He called on his hearers to rise in a body and go to the king and ask him to right their wrongs. One of his letters runs—

“ John the Miller asketh help to turn his Mill right :
He hath ground small, small,
The King's Son of Heaven will pay for it all.
Look thy Mill go right, with its four sails dight,
And let the post stand in steadfastness.
Let right help might, and skill go before will,
Then shall our Mill go aright ;
But if might go before right, and will go before skill,
Then is our Mill mis-a-dight.
Beware ere ye be woe,
Know your friend from your foe,
Take enough and cry ‘ Ho ! ’
And do well and better, and flee from sin,
And seek out peace and dwell therein.
And so biddeth John Trueman and all his fellows.”

In another he greets “ John Nameless, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and bids them beware of guile, and stand together in God's name; and bids Piers Plowman go to his work and chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trueman and all his fellows and no more, and look that you choose one head and no more.” More than once Ball had been ordered to keep silence, and in 1381 Simon of Sudbury, the new archbishop (now chancellor also), put him in prison for the second time. But the hour he and his friends had striven for was at hand.

3. The collection of the second poll-tax was cruelly and brutally carried out, and the word went round for a rising at Whitsuntide. In Essex already the peasants under Thomas Baker and Jack Straw had refused to pay it, and had driven the judge who came to punish them out of the country. In

Kent a tiler killed one of the taxmen who insulted his daughter, and the rising began. Walter Tiler of Maidstone was made captain of Kent; in Norfolk, John the Lister [dyer], a Stafford man, was made leader; John Wraw, a priest, was captain of Suffolk; William Grindcob was the leader of the S. Albans tenants; and in every shire from Somerset to York the peasants flocked together, "some armed with clubs, rusty swords, axes, with old bows reddened by the smoke of the chimney-corner, and odd arrows with only one feather." They marched along the highways, making every one they met swear to be true to King Richard and the Commons, and never to take a king called John; they pulled down the houses of some of the worst landlords, and destroyed all the tax-rolls and manor-rolls they could get at, so that all proof of slavery might be destroyed; they also killed several lawyers and foreigners, and slew the Chief-Justice, the Prior of Bury, and some knights that resisted them. In the north great bands went about sacking the estates of the Duke of Lancaster, who was on the border making a truce with the Scots. In the east they were resisted by Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, who scattered them with great slaughter. But in the south the ministers were either too careless or too frightened to do anything till it was too late, and the peasants had beset London, the Essex men camping at Hampstead, the Kentish men at Blackheath, and the Hertfordshire folk at Highbury. The king wished to hear what they wanted, but the archbishop would not have him "listen to such shoeless rascals;" however, he went down the river in his barge to Blackheath and saw their force, though he did not land or parley with them. William Walworth the mayor and the richer burgesses wished to keep the city gates shut, but the poor of London opened them and let the peasants in, July 12. They kept good order, and allowed no plundering, saying that they were seekers after truth and righteousness and not robbers; but they fired John of Gaunt's house the *Savoy*, the Temple, and the Priory of S. John's, burning all the law-books and tax-accounts they could lay hands on, and breaking all the plate and jewellery and casting it into the Thames. The London mob joined them, and they murdered many Flemings and other aliens, among them Richard Lyon, beheading them with terrific yells of applause, and fixing their heads on the bridge-house as those of traitors. Their hatred to the Duke of Lancaster was so great that they set up his best jacket, which was covered with gems, as a target, and afterwards

Hurling-time,
the Peasants'
Rising, July
1381.

cut it up and pounded it to pieces with axes, but they let his son go free. Their demands were—(a) a free pardon, (b) the abolition of slavery, (c) the sweeping away of all tolls and market-dues, and (d) the turning of all customary tenants into leaseholders for ever at 4d. per acre. On the 14th of July the king rode out to meet Jack Straw and the Essex men at Mile End, and promised to grant them their wishes, whereupon they went quietly home. But the Kentish men broke into the Tower as the king left, for the knights and archers on guard were too frightened to resist, and getting hold of the archbishop, Simon, and the treasurer, Sir Robert Hales, beheaded them on Tower Hill as traitors. The king passed the night at the Wardrobe, a stronghold by Blackfriars, and next morning went with William Walworth the mayor and several knights to meet Wat Tiler, the captain of Kent, and head of the whole rising, at Smithfield. Tiler rode up and tried to get the king to promise to do away with the forest laws, and let all men be free to kill wild beasts and game. As they talked Walter began quarrelling with one of the king's squires, and so angered the mayor, Walworth, that he drew his short sword and dealt the Kentish captain such a blow that he fell off his horse, whereupon the royal squires leapt down and stabbed him to death as he lay helpless on the ground. When the peasants saw their leader fall they shouted, "Let us stand together! We will die with our captain or avenge him! Shoot, lads, shoot!" and bent their bows. But the young king rode alone towards them as quick as he could, and called to them, "What is this, my men? Will you shoot your king? Never care for Walter's death. He was a traitor. I will be your captain; come, follow me to the fields, where you shall have the charters you ask for." And seeing the boldness of the boy they followed him quietly out of the city to Islington, while Walworth rode back into London to gather troops. Now that Walter was dead the rich citizens and knights grew bold, and gathered in numbers to the king's help, begging to be allowed to fall upon the leaderless peasants; but the king would not permit this, and sent them home with their charters in peace. The princess had been much frightened by the rising, for the Kentish men had stopped her on the way from Canterbury, and had broken into her rooms in the Tower to search for traitors, and she was right glad to see her son come home safe that evening. "Ah, my son, what sorrow I have suffered for thee to-day!" "I know it well, madam," said the boy; "but rejoice now, and thank God, for I have this day won back my heritage of England

which I had lost." The rising was indeed over. And now the punishment of the peasants began, for it was said that Jack Straw had confessed that they had meant to take the king about with them, as their head, till all the gentry were slain, and then that they were going to put him and all the rich clergy to death, and set up a king of their own in every shire, letting the friars and poor priests serve the churches. Whether this was true or not, the landlords determined to stop such risings by hanging every ringleader they could catch. On the 2nd and 3rd of July the king recalled the charters as being got by unlawful force, forbade all public meetings, and sent Tresilian, the new chief-justice, round the shires to try the rebels. John Ball, Jack Straw, and Grindcob, and nearly all the village leaders, some hundreds in all, were taken, found guilty, and hanged in chains as a warning to others.

The Parliament met in November, and the king said that though the charters had been unlawful, and he had therefore repealed them, since it was not in his power to deal with other men's property or bondsmen, yet that he would gladly agree to a law to set all bondsmen free: for he was sorry for the peasants who had trusted in his word. But the squires and clergy, the nobles and citizens, "answered with one voice that the repeal was well done, and that they never did and never would agree to the freeing of their serfs, which would be their downfall." However, in January 1382, on the marriage of the king to Ann, daughter of Charles, King of Bohemia, the Emperor, a general pardon was put forth to all who had joined in the rising. The movement had not turned out as the peasants hoped, but it taught the king's officers and the gentlefolks that they must treat the peasants like men if they wished them to behave quietly, and it led most landlords to set free their bondsmen, and to take fixed money payments instead of uncertain services from their customary tenants, so that in a hundred years' time there were very few bondsmen left in England.

4. The *Schism* between the two popes—Urban VI. (whom the English, Flemings, Portuguese, and Germans followed) and Clement VII. (who was favoured by the French and Castillians)—led to much discord in the Church, and made men look more narrowly into its beliefs and rights. About 1380 Wycliff, who was now Rector of Lutterworth, put forth in his lectures and pamphlets new views on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on marriage, and on the conduct and the claims of the popes which led him into a bitter quarrel with the friars, who upheld Clement against the rest of the

English Church. Wycliff also, with the help of his friends John Horn and Nicholas of Hereford, set about turning the Bible from Latin into English, in favour of which John of Gaunt spoke up in Parliament against the bishops. "We will not be the refuse of all other nations, for since they have God's law, which is the law of our belief, in their own tongue, we will have ours in English whoever say nay," and this he affirmed with a great oath. But Wycliff's old foe, William Courtenay, now succeeded Simon as archbishop, and he lost no time in attacking the *Hooded men* or *Lollards* [idlers], as the Wycliffites were now called by the friars. At a council he held at Lambeth, May 1382 (since known as the *Earthquake Council*, from a great shock which did much damage in England while it was sitting), many of Wycliff's opinions were condemned as *heretical* or untrue. He also got the Upper Houses to pass a bill against the Poor Preachers, but the Commons would not agree to it. Moreover, he sent to Oxford to forbid all who held with Wycliff to preach or teach there. And finally he brought up Wycliff, Hereford, John Aston, and others to answer before him as to their belief. Wycliff had a powerful friend in the Mayor of London, John Comberton of Northampton (one of the Lancaster party, who in spite of the bishops had made stern rules against evil-livers in the city), and he was therefore allowed, after making a quibbling defence, to go home unhurt to Lutterworth, where he lived, writing and preaching as before, till he was struck with palsy at mass in his own church, 28th December 1384, and died on the 31st. Nicholas of Hereford appealed to the Pope and escaped to Rome, where he was imprisoned till 1385, when he came home and employed himself with his friend John Purvey in revising Wycliff's Bible. Aston and many others gave up their former views in fear of the bishops. But Lollardy was by no means put down, as will be seen, and the bishops and monks were still in fear because of its rapid spread.

Proceedings
against the
Lollards, 1382.

5. In the year 1382 the French overcame the men of Ghent at *Rosbeck*, slaying their leader Philip of Artaveld, and the English were afraid lest King Charles should win all Flanders. So when the Bishop of Norwich got leave from Urban to make a *crusade* against those who held with Clement, he soon raised men and money enough to take an army into Flanders in May 1383, in spite of the wishes of Lancaster, the angry outcry of Wycliff, and the reproaches of Langland, who prays for the amendment of the Pope—

"That pillageth Holy Church,
 Claiming before kings to be Keeper of Christendom,
 And caring not though Christian men be killed or robbed,
 Who findeth folk to fight and shed Christian blood freely
 Against the old law and the new, as Luke beareth witness.
 Surely it seemeth, so himself have his will,
 He recketh right nought what may come of the rest."

Despenser took *Gravelines* and won *Dunkirk* against heavy odds, but could not carry Ypres, and agreeing to a truce with the French, came home in October; where he was much blamed in Parliament, and deprived of the rents of his see for three years. However, the men of Ghent, owing to the fear of the English, had time to recover from their defeat, and were now strong enough to face their earl and his French friends, and hold their own under their new captain, Edward the Buroar. The king's uncle, the Earl of Cambridge, also came home from Portugal, whither he had gone in 1381, on the invitation of Ferdinand, King of Portugal, to help him against John, King of Castile, the son of Henry of Trastamar. The Duke of Lancaster was to have followed him to Portugal, but had been kept at home because the money he would have had was spent over Despenser. Earl Edmund could not get Ferdinand to risk a battle with the Spaniards, so when he had betrothed his eldest son Edward to Ferdinand's daughter Beatrice, he came home, having spent 100,000 francs on this fruitless journey. Ferdinand now made peace with John, to whom, breaking off the English match he married his daughter Beatrice.

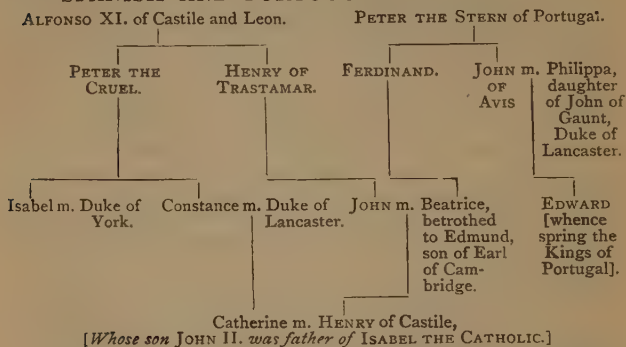
6. In spite of peace abroad, there was little at home. The English nobles were split into parties: many held with Lancaster; others were taking for their leader Thomas, Earl of Buckingham; while those most in favour with the Princess of Wales and the young king were his half-brothers the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon, and Sir Robert of Vere, Sir Simon Burley, and Tresilian. In 1384 the Duke of Lancaster was accused of treason, but his son-in-law, Sir John Holland, murdered the accuser, to the anger of the Earl of Buckingham: moreover, the duke's friend Comberton was imprisoned for opposing Sir Nicholas Brember, one of the king's party, who had been made mayor against the wish of many of the Londoners. The duke, fearing for his life, shut himself up in Pomfret Castle and prepared for war, but the king's mother managed to reconcile him with the king. And

this was the easier, for the truce was over and the French were beginning to gather a great navy for the invasion of England, and had sent Sir John of Vienne on beforehand in 1385 with a fleetful of soldiers to help the Scottish King Robert II. Richard with a great army set out against them, and got as far as the Forth, burning Edinburgh and other towns, but came back without being able to bring his foes to a battle. Luckily the great French fleet was kept at Sluys by foul winds till it was too late to start for England, and next year, though King Charles lay waiting all the autumn with 1200 ships and 100,000 men, when the wind did come it blew a gale and wrecked a great part of his fleet; so that the danger was again turned away, much to the delight of the Londoners, who had cleared the walls of all the houses built near them, mounted guns along them, and been at much cost to put themselves in good array. The third year, 1387, when the French fleet was ready to sail from Treguier, the Duke of Brittany took the French Constable, Oliver of Clisson, prisoner because he had ransomed John of Blois and married him to his own daughter. So having lost their leader, the captains went home and the whole enterprise was at an end. It was well that the French were not able to land during these three years, for things were not going well in England, and a great part of the best knights were abroad with John of Gaunt; for in 1385 there had come two gentlemen from King John of Portugal, the late King Ferdinand's half-brother, to the Duke of Lancaster, to tell him that he had won a great victory over King John of Castile at *Aljubarota*, August 14, and that if the duke would now bring an army to Portugal, he would be able to set him on the throne of Castile. The duke knowing that he had lost favour with both king and people in England, and seeing that he had no chance of the throne (for Richard had lately made Roger, Earl of March, his heir), was glad to go abroad and try to win a crown there. Richard too was not unwilling to let him go, and the Pope gave him a tithe of the Church and blessed his enterprise as a crusade, just as he had done for Despenser, for the Castillian King John was a Clementist. He set out with a fine force of picked men in the spring of 1386, Richard seeing him off and giving him and his wife two golden crowns for their coronation. Stopping on his way out, he raised the siege of Brest and then sailed to Coruña. After some months' fighting in Galicia and Castile with the help of his ally the King of

French threats
of invasion.
John of Gaunt's
crusade in Spain,
1385-1388.

Portugal, who married his eldest daughter Philippa in 1387, he was forced to withdraw into Gascony, for he himself was ill of fever, and the greater part of his army had perished of sickness. In Gascony he stayed two years, and then, putting an end to the war by marrying his second daughter Catherine to his enemy's son, Henry the heir of Castile, he came back to England, tired of strife and only desirous of keeping his dukedom in good order and of preventing a second civil war in England.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE ALLIANCES.



7. Now while he was away there had been a terrible struggle between the king's friends and the Earl of Buckingham, now Duke of Gloucester, with whom were the Archbishop William, the Earl of Warwick, Richard Earl of Arundel, and his brother Thomas, Bishop of Ely. In a Parliament at Westminster in October 1386 the dismissal of the chancellor, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was demanded. But Richard bade the Parliament mind its own business, and said that he would not send away a scullion from his kitchen unless he chose. Then Gloucester and Arundel threatened to depose him if he did not govern as the Parliament wished, and he gave way, sent the seals to the Bishop of Ely, allowed Suffolk to be impeached and condemned for misuse of public moneys, and agreed to, saving his royal rights, the appointment of a Board of Eleven to act with the ministers, and sit for a year to overlook the royal household and treasury, and amend all wrongs not provided for by the common, Church, or forest laws. But as soon as Parliament

The Merciless
Parliament.
Gloucester's
cruel rule.
Otterburn,
Aug. 10, 1388.

was dismissed, Richard set Suffolk free, and rode through the country with his friends to try and gain help in the next Parliament. He got the opinion of the judges that the new Board was unlawful, that the king also has a right to choose and dismiss his ministers, and that those who threatened him and set up the Board had acted as traitors. This sentence he published, ordered Robert de Vere, whom he had made Duke of Ireland, to raise troops in the west, and sent to seize Arundel, who was just then highly in favour with the Londoners for his action of March 24, when he had taken the French wine-fleet, with 19,000 tuns of claret on board, and "made wine to sell at 4d. a gallon." Arundel escaped the royal officers, and taking up arms with Gloucester, Warwick, Nottingham, and Henry the young Earl of Derby, John of Gaunt's eldest son, marched to London, seized the Tower, and *appealed* five of the king's counsellors, Dublin, Suffolk, Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York, Brember and Tresilian, of treason. Suffolk and the archbishop fled over-sea, Tresilian hid in disguise, Brember was taken. The Duke of Dublin was defeated at *Radcot Bridge*, December 20, 1388, by the Earl of Derby's men, and took refuge in Löwen. As soon as the Parliament met, February 1388, Gloucester first declared that he had never had any wish to make himself king, as his enemies had wished to make out, and then with his fellow-appellants charged the five counsellors with having advised the king ill, misused his money, tried to make Robert of Vere King of Ireland, to raise civil war, and to bring a French army into England. Dublin, Suffolk, Tresilian and Brember were condemned to death, and the two latter hanged. Neville was sent by the Pope to S. Andrews, where he would not be received, and Ely put in his room at York. The judges who had given their opinion against the earls were condemned to death, but allowed to live in exile in Ireland. Five more of the king's friends were then impeached and found guilty of treason, amongst whom was Sir Simon Burley. In vain Henry of Derby spoke for him, in vain the king wished him to be spared, in vain the queen pleaded on her knees to Gloucester and Arundel for the life of this old knight who had brought about her marriage to the king, and had served Richard and his father and grandfather long and faithfully. The earls would have him hanged with the others. £20,000 was then voted as a gift to the *Lords Appellant*, and so ended the *Marvellous* or *Merciless Parliament*.

At a second Parliament of Cambridge, 1388, the sale of

places in the Government was stopped, the laws about wages, beggars, and church patronage confirmed, the wearing of arms without cause forbidden, and many games, such as football, tennis, skittles, and rounders made unlawful, so that young men should be obliged to practise shooting as their amusement; for it was hoped to make every able labourer and workman in England a good shot, that he might defend his country in case of need. A truce was also made with the French, whose allies, the Scots, had just made a raid into North England.

"It fell about the Lammas-tide when yeomen win their hay,
The doughty Douglas bound him to ride to England to take a prey;
He chose the Gordons and the Grahams, and the Lindsays light and gay,
But the Jardines would not with him ride, and they rue it to this day.
They boldly burnt Northumberland, and harried many a town,
They did our Englishmen much harm, to battle that were not bound
[ready]."

Percy attacked them by night on their way home at the *Otterburn*, thirty miles from Newcastle. In the thick of the fight Douglas was stabbed by one of his own men, but the Scots, under his sister's son, Sir Hugh Montgomery, gained the day, according to the prophecy that "a dead man should win a fight for Scotland," as the old ballad tells:—

"The moon was clear, the day drew near, the spears in flinders flew,
And many a gallant Englishman that day the Scotsmen slew.
For no man there one foot would flee, but stiffly each did stand,
One hewing the other while he could smite, with many a baleful brand.
The Gordons good in English blood they steeped their hose and shoon,
The Lindsays flew like fire about till all the fray was done.
The fray was done at the Otterburn at the breaking of the day,
Earl Douglas was buried at the bracken bush, and the Percy was led away.
On the morrow they made them biers, of the birch and the hazel grey,
Many a widow with weeping tears her mate did bear away.
There was never a time in the March-parts, when Douglas and Percy did meet,
But 'twas strange if the red blood ran not down, as the rain does in the street."

8. On the 3rd of May 1388, Richard came into the council-room and asked his uncle Gloucester how old he was. "Twenty-three, sire," he answered. Then said the king, "Since I am of age, why should I be worse off than any other man? I am old enough to rule my people. Hitherto I have lived under governance, now I will govern." He then gave the seals to William of Wyckham, and the treasury to

Brantingham, his father's old friends, and turned the *Appellants* out of office. No man withstood him, for he was within his right, and he took care neither to break the law or show anger against those who had put his friends to death, even replacing the *Appellants* in the Council at the request of John of Gaunt, upon whose advice and that of his own wife Ann he chiefly leaned. For eight years there was peace and good rule.

Richard's
peaceful rule,
1389-1397.

Many wise laws were made: the great *Statute of Provisors*; a statute against *livery* and *maintenance* (forbidding lords to give their badges to any but their own servants and tenants, or to meddle with other men's quarrels or lawsuits); a law fixing the limits of the Constable's and Marshal's courts in 1390; an Act forbidding the manor courts to try cases touching ownership of land in 1391; the *great Statute of Præmunire* in 1393. In 1394 good Queen Ann breathed her last at Shene. Richard was beside himself with grief; he had the palace where she died razed to the ground, and struck Arundel in the abbey itself for keeping the funeral waiting. John of Gaunt also fell out with Arundel about this time, for the earl did not like the duke to have the duchy of Aquitaine, which Richard had given him in 1390, and wished for war with France, which John and Richard rightly thought unwise. He even tried to rouse the Cheshire men against Lancaster, but they were easily quieted. However, the king soon forgave Arundel, and even gave his brother the archbishopric of Canterbury on Courtney's death, nor, though he paid great honour to his uncle, did Richard favour his wish to get his son, the Earl of Derby, made heir in place of the Earl of March, in case the king died childless. As things were going badly in Ireland, Richard made up his mind to cross to the Pale and see how it was that a land which was once of profit to the crown now proved a burden. The Irish kings and chiefs, O'Connor, MacMorrough, O'Brien, O'Neil, and others, were after a while willing to obey him; but the lords of the Pale, the Butlers and Geraldines, gave much more trouble, as they quarrelled with each other, and would not suffer the natives outside the Pale to live in peace. Richard held a Parliament, did what he could to settle the country, and left his cousin the Earl of March as Lord-Deputy, when he himself was called home, after nine months' stay, by Archbishop Arundel, who wished for his help against the Lollards. For in the Parliament of 1394, held by the Duke of York for the absent king, they had a strong party in the Lower House, and had brought in a peti-

tion touching the state of the Church, in which they condemned confession, the mass, pilgrimage, image-worship, and many of the ceremonies of the Church ; objected to the clergy being endowed, taking lay offices, and not marrying ; and declared that war and capital punishment were sinful, and the making of jewels and weapons unrighteous, wasteful, and needless crafts. The king called Lord Montague and others of these opinions before him and "snubbed them, forbidding them to maintain such matters any more," and making them take an oath to that effect.

9. In 1396 Richard, wishing to put an end to the French war during his days, made a twenty-eight years' truce with Charles VI. and married his little daughter Isabel, a child of eight years old. The two kings met near Calais, where the wedding took place with great pomp, the married pair walking between two lines of French and English knights, four hundred of each, all in rich array. The whole festival cost Richard 300,000 marks, but the princess's dowry was 300,000 crowns paid at once, and 100,000 a year for five years. The Duke of Gloucester had spared no endeavour to put a stop to this match, for he liked the war, in which he hoped to win money and glory, and he now began again to do all in his power to thwart and humble the king and his friends, spreading every kind of story about their lives and doings which could make the people dislike them. Richard, willing to be rid of him on easy terms, gave him the government of Ireland ; but he soon threw it up, for he could get nothing but hard fighting there, and though he started on a crusade to Prussia, he came back after a few days at sea. In 1397 Gloucester, having many friends in the Commons, led them to send up a bill complaining (a) that the sheriffs

Richard crushes Gloucester's party and gets supreme power, 1397, 1398. were kept in office more than a year ; (b) that the Scottish marches were ill-guarded ; (c) that the statutes of 1390 against livery and maintenance were not fairly kept (an attack upon the king's friends, who spread his badge, the hart, widely among the gentry) ; (d) that there were too many foreign ladies and alien bishops maintained in the royal household at the king's expense. Richard agreed to look into the first points ; but saying that the Commons had no right to meddle with his guests, he sent Canon Thomas Haxey, who brought in the bill, to be tried for treason by the Lords, though when they found him guilty he pardoned him. But Gloucester, putting down Richard's forbearance to fear, pushed his violence so far as to openly and unjustly reproach his nephew at

a banquet as a coward and sluggard for not making war on France, when according to sworn treaty Brest and Cherbourg were given up to their owners, the Duke of Brittany and the King of Navarre. But the king still withheld his hand till he heard from the Earl of Nottingham, who had quarrelled with Gloucester, that his uncle was plotting with Warwick and the two Arundels to imprison him and seize the government again. Showing no sign of displeasure, Richard asked the four to a banquet. Warwick alone appearing, was arrested after the dinner and sent to Tintagel under guard. The archbishop was persuaded by promise that his brother's life should be safe to make him surrender, when he was put in prison at Carisbrooke. Richard then with a large armed following rode to Plashy, Gloucester's seat, and took him, saying, "Since thou wilt not come to me I am come to thee." "My lord, have mercy and spare my life!" "Thou shalt have the mercy Burley got when the queen prayed for him. Read this!" and with that he handed him the charges against him. "They shall surely be answered," replied Gloucester, who was then borne off to Calais under Nottingham's care. The ring-leaders being thus trapped, Richard gathered a body-guard of stout yeomen from his earldom of Chester, and called a Parliament, at which it was settled that the Earls of Nottingham, Rutland, Somerset, Kent, Huntingdon, Surrey, and Salisbury, Baron Despenser and Sir William Scrope (the Earl of Suffolk's kinsman), should appeal the prisoners of treason. The Parliament met, 17th September, in a great shed open at the sides, which were guarded by the Cheshire men with bent bows, for the Hall of Westminster was being rebuilt. The Commons had been carefully chosen under the eye of the sheriffs and lords of the king's party, for Gloucester's friends were cowed, while the Lords were willing to follow John of Gaunt's lead, and the clergy, fearing for their sees, were not willing to interfere on either side. The statute of 1386 and the pardons given to the earls in 1388 and 1398 were repealed as being granted under compulsion. When Arundel was accused he said to the Duke of Lancaster, "It is no use my answering. I know you will condemn me to get my lands." "Thou mayest lawfully be beheaded without defence, for it is the Parliament that charge thee." "What I did, I did for reasons that were then good, and I have the king's pardon if I did amiss." "That pardon the Parliament has recalled, for it was made when thou wast king!" "But I have another the king gave me of his own

accord." "That too is recalled by Parliament." "The king may pardon whom he will, and if thou sayest he cannot, thou dost more against his royal rights than ever did I, and of a truth if thou wert tried thou shouldst be found to be more of a traitor than I." "Thou art found guilty of the charges the Commons bring against thee, therefore put thyself upon the king's mercy." "The faithful Commons are not here," answered Arundel, "and I put myself upon the mercy of the High King of Heaven, and for the law and commonwealth of England I am ready to die." So he was judged to be beheaded on Tower Hill, where he had put Burley to death, and early on the morrow, 21st September, his head was smitten off. There was a strong guard about the place, for the Londoners pitied him, and it was feared that they would try a rescue. Gloucester was not allowed to appear, but was smothered by Nottingham's orders at an inn in Calais. Yet sentence was passed upon his dead body, for ere Parliament met he had confessed his guilt to one of the judges. Warwick, who also confessed, was imprisoned in the Isle of Man, for the king would not put so old a man to death. The archbishop was banished, but refused to go. "I will die where I was born." However the king said, "Do not grieve, my lord, nor refuse to go, for thou shalt shortly be recalled, and there shall be no other archbishop in thy place while we two live." "I will go then," said Arundel angrily, "but before I go I have somewhat to say to thee;" and he spoke long and sharply against the pride, greed, and other sins of the king and his friends. The Parliament then declared treason to lie in *planning the king's death or removal, giving up the homage due to him and raising war against him*, and pronounced Nottingham and Derby guiltless of this offence. The king now rewarded his friends for their help, making the Earls of Nottingham, Derby, Rutland, Huntingdon, and Kent, Dukes of Norfolk, Hereford, Aumâle, Exeter, and Surrey. The Earl of Somerset (John of Gaunt's son by his third wife) was created Marquess of Dorset; Barons Despenser and Neville, Earls of Gloucester and Westmoreland; Sir Thomas Percy and Sir William Scrope, Earls of Worcester and Wilts. Chester was made a *principality*. Roger Waldon the treasurer was made Archbishop of Canterbury in spite of the king's promise to Arundel, and Henry Beaufort, Dorset's brother, was made Bishop of Lincoln. In January 1398 the same Parliament met again at Shrewsbury, when they gave Richard more power than any English king had been trusted with. They granted him the

customs on wool, woolfells, and leather for his life; they gave up their own power to a board chosen from among the king's friends, and made up of ten nobles for the Lords (of whom six might be a quorum), two earls for the clergy, and six commoners (of whom four would be a quorum), who were "to answer and determine all petitions and matters therein contained, as well as all matters or things moved in the king's presence [in Council], and all things thereon dependent which were not yet settled, according to their good counsel and wisdom by full power of Parliament." All these Acts were confirmed and declared irrevocable by a bull of Pope Boniface. But the people laughed at the "Dukelings," and the clergy grumbled against the Pope and the king.

Richard ruled through the men who had managed the Commons for him in this Parliament, Bushy the Speaker, Scrope, Bagot, and Green, and he overawed his foes by his Cheshire guards, who were heartily fond of him and would say to him, as the story goes, "Sleep in peace, Dickon, we will take care of thee, and if thou hadst married Sir Perkin's daughter of Lee, thou mightest have defied all the lords in England." But he was not easy in his mind; he regretted Arundel's death, and he was ever fearful of some fresh plot against him, for he knew that the Londoners (with whom he had quarrelled in 1392 because they would not lend him money) disliked him, and that many of the nobles distrusted him. He therefore tried to strengthen himself, he borrowed money by forced loans, he made London and seventeen of the shires ransom themselves by paying him large sums called the "*Pleasaunce*," and he led many merchants and gentlefolk to sign blank charters to be filled up as he chose with promises of faithfulness. Moreover he sought to gain friends by giving his badge, a white hart of silver, to be worn on the arm or neck as a token of his special favour and protection. And as he was rich and well guarded, and a man who would risk much to win favour, he might have lived down much of the illwill against him, and ruled long and fairly, had he not set the powerful house of Lancaster against him by his lack of good faith. It happened that Norfolk, fearing for his life, tried to draw Hereford into a bond which he and Aumale, Exeter, and Worcester had entered into against Surrey, Salisbury, Wilts, and Gloucester; but Hereford refused and appealed his former friend of treason. Norfolk denied it, and it was settled that they should fight a wager of battle. But John of Gaunt begged Richard not to let them fight, and when the two champions rode armed into the lists at Coventry, 16th

September, before a vast throng of onlookers, the fight was altogether stopped, and both dukes made to swear to leave the realm. Hereford was to stay away for ten years, Norfolk never to return. Both were given pensions out of their estates, and were to enjoy all rights in England as if they had not been banished. Henry, who had gone abroad after 1388, had won fame by fighting in two crusades against the heathen—in Barbary, 1390, and in Prussia, 1391, whence he had gone as far as Rhodes on the way to Jerusalem. He was the best-loved man in England at this time, and the people pressed in weeping crowds to take leave of him. But Richard, who was dreaming of being made Emperor, and listening to his flatterers' prophecies of great glory to come, paid no heed to this, and so far from making friends with his cousin, sent Salisbury to Paris to break off his marriage with the Duke of Berry's daughter, and recalled the rights he had given him; so that when John of Gaunt died in 1399, he would not suffer Henry's agent to take his estates, but seized them himself. Henry thereupon went to Brittany, to his kinsman the duke, that he might be ready to come back to England if any chance should offer, and make Richard do him right. He had not long to wait.

10. The Earl of March had been killed by the "wild Irish" at Kenlys, July 20, 1398, and now that all was outwardly at peace in England, Richard was minded to go over to Ireland and stay there till he had established good government once for all. He made his will, leaving all his money to his heir on condition that he upheld the Acts of the two last Parliaments, appointed his uncle, the Duke of York, Keeper of the Realm, and then sailed with many of his nobles, May 1396. As soon as Henry heard that he was gone he set out from Brittany with Archbishop Arundel and his nephew (the dead earl's son), Sir Thomas Erpingham, and forty men, and

Henry of
Lancaster

deposes Richard,
1399.

landed at Ravenspur, July 4, swearing to the northern lords who joined him that he was come to claim his heritage and to put an end to the bad rule of the king's friends, but not to touch the crown. The Keeper was won over, 27th July; Bristol surrendered, and the king's friends there, Wilts, Bushy, and Green, hanged. Richard sent Salisbury to gather troops at Conway, promising to follow him at once; yet he did not come for three weeks, when he landed at Beaumaris. But there his own men fled from him, and he fell into despair and cursed the untruth of England, saying, "Alas! what faith is there in this false world?" and instead of

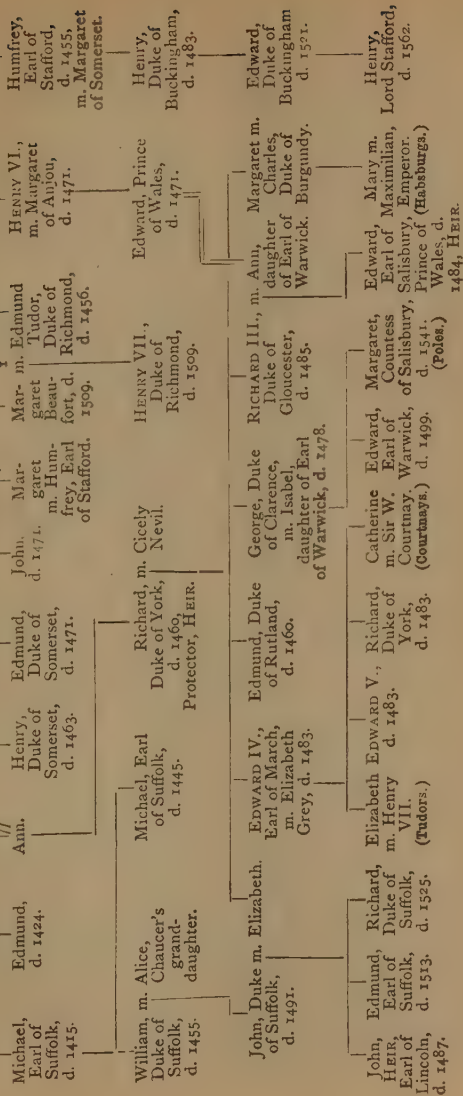
going to Bordeaux, where he would have found help and welcome, left his treasure and fled in disguise to Conway. He found no help there, Salisbury's levies had gone home, tired of waiting for him. Ere he could make fresh plans he was lured by Northumberland's false oath out of his stronghold and brought to Flint. "Fool that I was," he cried when he found himself betrayed, "to have saved the life of this Henry of Lancaster three times, as I have, yea, when his own father would have had him die for his treason and wickedness! 'Tis a true saying indeed, 'Your worst foe is him you free from the gallows.'" When he saw Lancaster he smiled and said, "Welcome, fair cousin!" "I am come home before my time, sir," answered Lancaster, bowing, "for your people complain that you have ruled them harshly for a score of years or more, but now if it please God I will help you to rule better." "If it please you, it pleaseth us well," replied Richard. They then started for London. At Lichfield the king tried to escape, but was retaken and henceforth strictly guarded. The Londoners welcomed Henry with joy, but hooted and groaned as the king was led to the Tower. Before the Parliament that had been called could meet, Richard, seeing no present hope, agreed in writing to give up the crown. New writs were issued for a fresh Parliament to meet in six days. When it met, the resignation was read in English and Latin and accepted. Thirty-three charges against Richard were then read, which accused him (*a*) of having acted wrongfully towards Archbishop Arundel and the Appellants; (*b*) of having packed Parliaments by means of the sheriffs, and got them to give up their lawful rights to him; (*c*) of having lowered the free crown of England by seeking the Pope's approval of Acts of Parliament; (*d*) of having raised unlawful taxes, loans, purveyance, and ransoms; (*e*) of having broken the laws as to the sheriffs and royal officers and judges; (*f*) of having made an unrighteous will; (*g*) of having said and held that the laws lay in his own mouth, and that he could change them as he liked, and that the life, lands, and goods of every man were at his mercy without trial. The Parliament voted these charges true and sufficient grounds for setting the king aside, and sent Seven Commissioners to tell him so. Only one man, Thomas Marks, Bishop of Carlisle, spoke up for his master, and asked for a fair trial, but he was not listened to. As soon as the throne was declared vacant the Duke of Lancaster rose, and crossing himself said, "In the name of

God, I, Henry of Lancaster, claim this realm and the crown thereof, with all the members and appurtenances thereto, as coming of the right blood of King Henry, and through that right which God of His grace hath sent me with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover it, the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of laws." And with that he showed the signet which Richard had given him at Flint. Whereon the Three Estates severally and together agreed to take him as king. Then Henry having knelt down and prayed a while in their midst, was handed to the throne by the two archbishops. After a sermon from Arundel on the text, "Behold the man whom I spake to thee of; the same shall rule over My people," Henry spoke again, "Sirs, I thank you, both spiritual and temporal, and all the Estates of the land, and I do you to wit that it is not my will that any man should think that by way of conquest I would disinherit any man of his heritage, liberties, or other rights that he ought to have, or put him out of that he hath and hath had by the good laws of this realm, save those that have been against the good state and common profit of the realm." And on the morrow, 1st October, Sir William Thirning, as the spokesman of the Seven Commissioners, went to the Tower and addressed Richard, saying, "Sir, ye remember you well that ye renounced and put off the state of king and lordship and of all the dignity that belongeth thereto." "Yea," said Richard, "but not the ghostly honour of the royal anointing, which I could not renounce or put off." But Thirning went on to say that "his renunciation and cession was plainly accepted and fully agreed to by all the Estates and people. And besides this, sir, at the instance of all the Estates and people there were certain articles of default in your governance there read and then well heard and plainly understood by all the Estates aforesaid, and by them thought so true and notorious and well known that for these two causes, and for others also, as they said, and having consideration to your own words in your renunciation and cession that ye were not worthy nor sufficient nor able for to govern because of your own demerits (as it is more fully declared therein), they therefore thought that it was reasonable and cause for to depose you." "Nay, nay," cried Richard, "not for any lack of power, but because my rule did not please the people." "I am but using your words, sir," answered Thirning. "Well," said Richard smiling, "I look for no more, but after all this I hope that my cousin will be good lord to me."

This was the imprisoned king's last free utterance. On the 27th he was condemned by the Lords and Council to perpetual imprisonment, and two days after sent from the Tower to Pomfret. His after fate is as yet unknown.

11. Richard was ruined, as William Langland says, by *redelessness* or lack of good counsel. He was not an idle trifler like Edward II., nor a shiftless spendthrift like Henry III., but a singularly gifted man, handsome, brave, generous, intelligent, merciful, and able to act boldly and quickly when he chose. His path was never free from difficulty and danger, family quarrels, foreign hatred, and English discontent, a heritage of trouble that came to him with his crown; but he was on the verge of safety when he ruined himself by two or three false steps taken in the interest of his friends rather than of himself or his people. He was ill-advised when for peace' sake he let the irritating misdeeds of his brothers, his officers, and his guard go unpunished; ill-advised when out of love for art, splendour, and a fair life he kept up a grand court, and was the patron of poets, painters, and architects, though he knew that his people grudged spending money on anything but war; ill-advised when, impatient at the ceaseless falsehood and plots of his kinsmen, he used haughty language, and spoke of his royal rights as above the law; and still more ill-advised when he tried to govern well, without consulting the likes and dislikes of the people he had to rule, banishing their favourites, breaking down their privileges, mocking at their cherished beliefs, and overriding the rights to which they clung. But Richard was no brutal or heartless tyrant, and if his luck had not left him, he might have put away the follies, set right the mistakes into which his youth and his young counsellors had led him, and so reigned more happily than his supplanter. However, he had had his chance and failed, and the English people, perhaps rightly, would not give him another, though he had a few warm friends who could not forget his fair face and open hand, and pitied his fate.

"Ah, Richard, with the eyes of heavy mind
I see thy glory like a shooting star
Fall to the bare earth from the firmament.
Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west,
Witnessing storms to come, woe, and unrest."



CHAPTER V.

England in the Fourteenth Century.

1. It was in the fourteenth century that the order of life and society which we call *mediæval* reached its height in England. The Church was richer than ever, the division of classes more marked, the trading and commercial guilds thriving as they had never yet. All the forms of *mediæval art* and *literature* seem to have come into full flower, and the *law* and *constitution* were certainly in as perfect a state as the circumstances and ideas of the day allowed.

Taking the constitution first, one is especially struck by the growth and strength of *Parliament*. For in England in the fourteenth century the clergy did not become stronger though they grew richer, the kings fell more and more under the sway of Parliament; while it was in and through Parliament that the younger branches of the royal family, who headed the opposition to the Crown, contrived to get their way. It was in this century that the English Parliament took the form to which it has ever after kept, and in this century that it gained great part of the powers and privileges which it has maintained to this day. It now first set forth plainly its own rights of free speech and self-rule, and insisted that the claims of Pope and Church, the *regaly* or *prerogative* of the king, and the rights of the subject should be clearly marked off by statute. It clinched the work of Archbishop Stephen and the Righteous Earl by not allowing a penny to be raised in taxes from Englishman or alien in England without its consent, and it gained complete control over the moneys it voted. It decided between peace and war, and fixed the lines within which the country should be ruled, upholding in a striking way its right to punish unrighteous ministers, and to set up or pull down the king himself "for default of lawful governance." Great changes took place in its own composition. 1. To begin with the *Clergy*. The lower clergy, that is, the *dean*, *archdeacon*, and *proctor* [representative] for the *chapter* [cathedral body] who came from each cathedral, and the two *proctors* who represented the *beneficed clergy* in each see, about 100 members in all, soon ceased to sit with the Knights and Burgesses. For after the Bull *Clericis Laicos* they did not like to join laymen in voting money out of Church goods and lands. So it came about

English constitution and finance in the fourteenth century.

that the kings allowed the archbishops to gather the bishops, abbots, and lower clergy in two separate bodies, called the *Convocations of York and Canterbury*, which were not Houses of Parliament at all, though in them the clergy used to make rules for their own order, subject to royal approval and the Church law, and were wont to vote *gifts of money* to the king in due proportion to the taxes voted in Parliament by the laymen. For as long as the clergy paid their fair share neither the king nor the people cared whether they taxed themselves in Parliament or out of it, especially as the bishops and abbots, as of old, still sat with the Lords in Parliament. 2. *The House of Lords* now often appears as a *court* in which great officers *impeached* [accused] by the Commons of state-offences are tried, and as the place of *appeal* to which knotty cases of the common law could finally be brought and settled. There were from 150 to 100 *Lords*, the numbers tending to lessen, but the greater part being always spiritual peers. About the end of the century the number of the latter was fixed as 21 bishops and 27 abbots and priors. Dukes and earls were made by the king with consent of Parliament till Richard II. took to making all peers by *patent* [open] *letters* under his seal. Bishops were chosen by the *chapters* of their sees, at the king's recommendation, and with the Pope's goodwill; abbots and priors were chosen by their monks and confirmed by the king. 3. *The House of Commons* now began to take up a well-marked line of its own. Sitting apart under their own *Speaker*, the Commons refused to join in the law-work of the Upper House (though they sometimes accused State criminals before it), and chiefly busied themselves with the nation's money matters; for the burden of the taxes fell chiefly upon them, and it was their interest to see that the money they voted was carefully gathered and thriftily spent. They also in their *petitions* begged the king to have various laws made to remedy the evils they noticed in the realm. The king and the Lords sometimes disagreed with these petitions, but if they agreed, the petition was granted and enrolled as a *Statute* or *Act of Parliament*. The Lower House was made up of about 300 members (37 counties returning 2 knights apiece; London and York each sending 4 citizens; the Cinque Ports with their 16 barons; and about 150 boroughs with 2 burgesses each). It was by keeping the strings of the purse that Parliament was able to hold its own against king and Pope. Luckily the ordinary royal income, *The king's own*, was barely enough to keep him in time of peace; and when he was at

war, as he often was, he must needs seek help from Parliament at last, though he often tried to avoid this by various devices, taxing strangers or the Jews (till they were driven out), borrowing money from foreign merchants (which answered well enough till the Lombard bankers were ruined and the Flemings refused to lend any more) or getting loans from rich folk. Parliament was wise enough only to give money on condition that the king should rule to please them or that he should set his seal to laws they wanted, and in this way the Parliaments quietly bought many rights by gold which the barons in the foregoing century had shed their blood to secure.

The following table will show the state of the *regular revenue* on an average :—

£50,000 old crown dues, etc., paid through Exchequer.	£20,000 storing and keeping up castles.
10,000 old customs.	10,000 soldiers' pay.
5,000 feudal dues, escheats, coin- age, etc.	15,000 court expenses.
	5,000 royal stables.
	5,000 travelling expenses.
	10,000 varying expenses, alms, etc.

£65,000 income "king's own."

£65,000 outgoings.

In a year of war there would be extra expenses, from £60,000 to £100,000, to be met by taxation, this would be supplied by some of the following ways :—

Tenth from the clergy	= £10,000	} <i>direct taxation.</i>
Tenth from towns, with Fifteenth from country }	= 60,000	
Wool subsidy, at 43s. 4d. per sack	= 90,000	
		<i>indirect taxation.</i>

The control of the Law was still in the king's hands, but as the Parliament called unjust judges to account, the courts were on the whole freer than they had been before from the royal caprices. The three *Common-Law Courts*, with their regular staffs, were full of work, and cases they would not touch were regularly heard and settled by the *Chancellor* or *Keeper of the Privy Seal*. The *Church Courts* had their own business, cases relating to wills, marriages, tithes, and religious offences, and were not allowed to meddle with the common law. The *Royal Council* and the *Courts of the Royal Officers* were forbidden to judge any man to lose life, limb, or land, which could only be done before a jury in the Common-Law Courts. The *Justices of the Peace* were rapidly replacing the manor courts and hundred courts, and checked as they were by the

royal *Justices of Assize*, gave better and fairer law than the old courts, which were mostly in the hands of the stewards of the king or the great lords, who often abused their power. In most of the towns the power was passing into the hands of the great *trade-guilds*, who named the *town councillors* for the different wards, and with the *aldermen* chose the burgesses, mayor, and other officers. The big towns were one by one, after the old example of London, freed from the control of the sheriff of their county, and left to choose their own sheriffs as *counties corporate*.

2. In spite of pirates, evil seasons, famines, and plagues, English trade grew steadily during this century, and latterly the strong companies of the *Staple* and *Merchant Adventurers* did much to forward commerce where single traders would have failed.

Trade, prices,
and wages in
the fourteenth
century.

The fish trade with Norway; the hide, hemp, bullion, and timber trade with the North Sea and Baltic ports; the wine and salt trade with Gascony; the wool trade with Flanders,—all flourished, and we were now setting up a new and well-paying business, by beginning to make up our own wool, thus saving the risks of double carriage and getting a profit we had hitherto left to foreigners. Edward III. wisely encouraged Flemish wool-workers to settle in the eastern counties and teach their trade to the people, and in like manner he welcomed all foreign craftsmen who could teach English artisans any hitherto-unknown ways of work, so that English cloth, metal-work, pottery, and glass soon showed much improvement.

The great fairs of Weyhill, Stourbridge, Abingdon, and St. Giles (Winchester) were still the marts for the midland counties, as the great staple-towns by the sea were for the east, west, and south coasts. The many royal merchants (such as *Michael at Poole*, or *de la Pole* of Hull) who became founders of noble families during this century and the next, show the great prizes which were open to far-seeing and industrious traders :—

“ And still with worship [honour] think I on that sun
Of merchant-hood, *Richard of Whittingdon* ;
That lodestar and that chief and chosen flower.
What hath by him our England of honour !
And what profit hath been of his richesse,
And yet doth daily last in worthiness ! ”

A slight debasement of the money, a bad policy borrowed from France, was more than made up for by Edward III.'s care for the coinage, for plenty of money was needed for the

trade of those days. He even struck gold pieces, at first *florins* of 6s., copies of the Florentine crowns, and afterwards *nobles* of 6s. 8d. with the image of himself in full armour standing with drawn sword on board a ship, a memory of the sea-fight of Sluys. But in spite of this proud device, piracy was still rife in the narrow seas, and rather increased than lessened through the reign of Richard II., while the *letters of reprisals* granted to English merchants who had suffered from Breton, Friesland, or Flemish pirates only made matters worse, and our carrying trade began somewhat to fall off in consequence.

The effects of the Black Death have been noticed above. It *brought the population down from four to two millions, doubled wages, and generally raised prices about one-fifth*. Wheat was now worth about 5s. 10d. and oats 2s. per quarter, an ox 8s. 6d., but a sheep not more than 1s. 6d., for the increase of sheep-farming kept the price down. On the whole, the poor were better fed, better clothed, and better paid than in the former century, though their lot was none the less hard enough, as the poet's portrait of the ploughman shows:—

“ His coat of the cloth that is named carry-marry [a coarse cloth];
His hood full of holes, with his hair sticking through them;
His clumsy knobbed shoes cobbled over so thickly,
Though his toes started out, as he trod on the ground;
His hose hanging over each side of his hoggars [gaiters],
All plashed in the puddles as he followed the plough;
His two miserable mittens made out of old rags,
The fingers worn out, and the filth clotted on them.
He went wading in mud, almost up to the ankles,
And before him four oxen, so weary and feeble,
One could reckon their ribs, so rueful were they.

His wife walked beside him, with a long ox-goad,
In a clouted coat cut short to the knee,
Wrapped in a winnowing-sheet to keep out the weather.
Her bare feet on the bleak ice bled as she went.
At one end of the acre, in a crumb-bowl so small,
A little babe lay, lapped up in rags.
And twins, two-years-old, tumbled beside it,
All singing one song that was sorrowful hearing,
For they all cried one cry, a sad note of care.”

And of the yeoman's food William writes:—

“ ‘ I have no penny,’ quoth Piers Plowman, ‘ pullets to buy,
Nor goose nor grice [young pig], but two green cheeses,
And a few curds and cream, and an oaten cake,
And a loaf of beans and bran, baked for my children.
I have no salt side of bacon to slice up for collops. . . .
But parsley and leeks and many kale-plants,
And chervil and shalots, and cherries and apples.’ ”

From the reign of Edward I. we begin to get pretty full records of courts, councils, and parliaments, beside the account-rolls and charters which abound. Of law treatises there are *Fleta*, the *Miroir des Justices* or *Judges' Looking-glass*, and others of the end of the thirteenth century. To the beginning of the next belongs the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, or *How Parliament is held*. The *Custom-Book* of London, put together by *Andrew Horn*, 1320, and the old *Law-Book*, 1274, give full accounts of the City bylaws. The customs of the guilds were collected by Richard II.'s orders in 1382.

3. The architecture of this time was more richly decorated than earlier styles had been; the roofs being loftier, the doors and windows larger and more freely adorned; the pillar-shafts, piers, and buttresses more strikingly fashioned and ingeniously set. The *mouldings* are thick with carved flowers, and every spire, canopy, and pinnacle of wood, metal, or stone is edged with delicate curling leaf-work. There is more show and splendour about every building, and there is something of extravagance in the enormous west windows of York, Durham, and Lichfield, the Round Tower of Windsor, built by Edward III. for a banqueting-room, and the loftiness of Westminster Hall as restored by Richard. But, on the other hand, all *domestic* buildings were far more carefully planned and skilfully contrived for comfort than before, without, too, losing any of their beauty; such are William of Wyckham's New College at Oxford and Winchester, William Rede's Library at Merton, and the beautiful convents which the friars were raising in every big town. The Wycliffite poet thus describes a great London convent, which is a good example of fourteenth century architecture:—

Fourteenth Century or Decorated architecture in England.

“ When one came to the *court* it was comely to see,
The pillars were polished and painted so bright,
And quaintly carven with curious knots,
And the windows so well wrought high up in the walls;
For though it was wide, the whole place was walled in
With small posterns [wicket-doors] in places by which to pass out.
There were orchards and herb-gardens all in the court,
And a curious cross right cunningly sculptured.

The *minster* [church] I marked too, and its marvellous building,
The arches on each side so artfully carven,
And the crockets on the corners were craftily gilt.
The wide windows of glass set so thick on the walls,
Shining with shields, a sight to behold,
With merchants' marks a many mingled among them.

Tombs trimly covered with tabernacle-work [carved canopies],
 And armed men upon them wrought out of alabaster,
 And lovely ladies lying by their sides
 In gay-coloured garments gold-beaten all.

Pillared and painted so proudly was the *cloister*,
 Roofed with lead low down to the line of the stonework,
 Paved with painted tiles all of one pattern,
 With tin tanks for water so tidily jointed,
 And lavers [wash-places] of latten [brass] so deftly laid down.

The *chapter-house* [meeting-hall] too, it was like a great church
 With a seemly ceiling set up aloft,
 And painted all round like a parliament-house.
 And further in the friary was another fair *hall* [guest-chamber]
 That would hold the household of any high king,
 With broad boards [tables] set round it, and benches so fair.
 There were *chambers* [dining-rooms] with chimneys, and beautiful
chapels,
 And *kitchens* such as kings have in their castles ;
 And a *dormitory* duly furnished, shut in with strong doors,
 An *infirmary* and *refectory*, and full many rooms more,
 And gay garrets above, with each window of glass."

As ever before, so in this age, famous men showed their taste for fair and stately buildings. Edward I. set up the jewel-like Eleanor crosses as memorials of the wife he loved "alive and dead." Burnell the chancellor and Roger Mortimer raised the western fastnesses of Acton Burnell and Ludlow. Bishop Beck and Lords Nevill and Percy built, or rebuilt, the northern strongholds of Auckland, Raby, and Alnwick. The central palace-castles of Kenilworth and Pomfret were enlarged by Edward III. and John of Gaunt. Archbishop Courtenay and Richard II. raised the fortresses of Saltwood and Southampton to guard the south ; while nearly every baronial family had its *crenelated mansion* walled and embattled by leave of the king.

The ordinary house of the middle classes had a *hall*, in which the daily household life and work went on ; an upper *chimneyed chamber*, where the master and his wife and children sat and even ate (for the old custom of the whole household dining together in the hall was dying out save at special seasons) ; a kitchen with buttery and cellar for stores ; and two or three sleeping-rooms on the upper story, or in lofts reached by an outside stair or ladder of wood. A byre and stable were attached to most houses, and the little yard, round three sides of which the house was built, and which often contained an elder-tree, or a vine, and a draw-well, was closed on the fourth by a high wall.

4. The armour and arms of the middle ages were never more workmanlike and beautiful than in the fourteenth cen-

tury in England. In the knight's array plate was now added to mail. The coat-of-mail was covered by a breastplate. Upon the mail sleeves and hose were buckled broad bands of steel, *brassards* and *vambraces*, *cuissards* and *jambards* joined by steel *coudieres* and *genouilleres* at elbow and knee. A tippet of mail, the *cap-mail*, covered neck and shoulders, and was laced to the steel cap or *bassinet* which guarded the head. This was also fitted with a hinged *avantail* or face-guard, pierced for eyesight and breathing. In the tournament a huge iron *helm* buckled to the breastplate sheltered both head and neck from spear-thrusts, though it was too unwieldy for real war. The *coat-of-arms* was still worn, and over it at the hips knights bore a jewelled belt of metal holding the dagger and sword-sheath. *Gauntlets* and *sollerets* [shoes] of small jointed plates were now first used. The lance was heavier and the shield smaller and more curved than before. Even the knight's charger often carried a mail *poitral*, or breast-guard, and a plate *chanfront*, or head-cover, under the long flowing *mantling*, and *top-clothes* painted or embroidered with his rider's arms.

Armour and arms in the fourteenth century.

As for the archer, Chaucer, who had fought beside him in France, draws his picture :

“ And he was clad in coat and hood of green,
A sheaf of peacock arrows bright and keen
Under his belt he bare full carefully.
Well could he trim his tackle yeomanly.
His arrows drooped not with feathers low,
And in his hand he bare a mighty bow.
A nut-head had he with a brown visage.
Of woodcraft well he knew all the usage.
Upon his arm he bare a gay bracer,
And by his side a sword and buckler [small round shield].
And on the other side a gay dagger,
Well mounted and as sharp as point of spear,
A Christofer [brooch with St. Christopher's image] on is
breast of silver sheen ;
An horn he bare, its baldric [shoulder-belt] was of green.”

And the Welsh romancer talks of “the bow of red yew” with its tough tight string of sinew or silk-bound hemp, and the “straight smoothly-rounded shaft with its evenly-cut neck, its long slender feathers deftly fastened on with green silk, and its heavy, thick, inch-broad steel head tempered to a blue-green, and sharp enough to draw blood out of a weather-cock.”

The power of well-handled archers was indeed so great that the French king dare not, as was commonly said in

England, arm his yeomen and peasants with bow and arrow, lest they should rise and destroy the knights and gentry, who could not withstand their attack.

Cannons were now used in sieges and battles, but they were only less clumsy, dangerous, and hard to move than the old war-slugs and *trapgets* and *springalds* [catapults] which were still employed, and hand-guns were as yet far too slow-firing and awkward to replace bows and crossbows.

In Scotland the pike and the broad-axe, or the long-shafted Lochaber hatchets, were used by the heavy-armed footmen; for though the Highlanders had bows and arrows, the Lowland Scots never became good bowmen, though many laws were passed to further archery. The Scottish knights were armed like their English and French fellows, and were noted for their strength and skill.

5. Life in England in the middle ages was not dull, and there was no lack of merriment in spite of all the troubles of the time, for beside the great church festivals, guild feasts, May games, summer games, wakes, Yule feasts, and the like, there were often pageants and processions in the towns at coronations, great men's weddings, and other public occasions. Both round dances and step-dancing were very favourite pastimes, and many songs were written for dancers to sing. All kinds of music, too, were brought in from abroad; beside the organ, harp, pipe, horn, and tabrets, which had long been played in England, there were viols, and citherns, and bagpipes, and drums, and shawms. Bands of musicians played and sung at feasts and pageants, and in the churches. The English and Welsh were especially skilled in *part-singing*, and there are hundreds of old songs on all subjects in old vellum books of this time. The *mystery plays*, too, were now at their best. These were sets of dramas showing forth in order the stories of the Old and New Testaments, acted by the workmen of the several *craft-guilds* or *mysteries* [métiers]: thus the vintners would act the Marriage of Cana, the carpenters Noah's Ark, and so on. They were played in the open air, like the Passion plays still to be seen in Tyrol and Biscaya, and often took two or three days to perform. Several sets of them which were played in Chester, Coventry and Cornwall are still remaining. Edward II. was very fond of these plays, and they became so popular that in many places *regular companies* were formed for playing them. Another very common way of spending a holiday in these days was going a pilgrimage. Of course to go oversea to S. James of Galicia, or to Rome, or the Holy

Land, was a serious undertaking, and done out of religious zeal ; but there were many places of pilgrimage in England to which folks went partly for pleasure and partly for piety. Such were the shrines of *Our Lady* at Walsingham, Worcester, Doncaster, Penrice, and Ipswich ; the *Holy Roods* of Waltham, Bromholm, and the North Door of S. Paul's ; the *Holy Blood* of Hayles ; the resting-places of famous native saints, such as S. Cuthbert at Durham, S. Edmund at Bury, S. Alban, S. John of Beverley, SS. Etheldreda and Osyth in East England, S. Edward the Confessor at Westminster, and a host of others, beside the most famous of all, "S. Thomas of England." Chaucer has described a pilgrim company of all ranks riding together from Southwark to Canterbury—

" The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
That them had holpen when that they were sick."

And the figure of the *palmer* from overseas was a well-known figure on the roads in "his roomy clothes."

" With hat and high shoes so homely and round,
And flat farthing tokens [from different shrines] fixed thickly all over them ;
Many shreds and shraggs at his skirts hanging ;
With his scrip, and his slavin [a long Russian coat], and scallop-shells
[the signs of a pilgrim from S. James of Galicia] enough ;
And his pikestaff and palm branch [sign of a pilgrim from Jerusalem]
true pilgrim's guise."

6. The dress of the gentry was perhaps never more costly and curious than at the courts of Edward III. and Richard II. French, Gascon, Spanish, German, and Bohemian fashions, each had their followers. There was a lavish use of embroidered stuffs, fur, and jewellery. One young knight would wear a square-collared tight-laced tunic of blue or green with scalloped border, and sleeves buttoned from elbow to wrist ; his head was wrapped in a gay hood of the same stuff, buttoned and jag-edged also, with a long *liripipe* or pointed hood-tip ; hose of different hues covered the legs, and on the feet were *Cracow shoes* with long curving tips laced to the knees with silver chains. Another chose to dress in a German *slop* or jacket, or a Spanish *paltock*, which was a short sleeveless vest laced to the hose by dozens of silk strings. This man would wear over his tunic the French *cote-hardie*, a fur-lined, fur-trimmed kirtle without sleeves to show the costly buttons of the tunic beneath it ; that one held to his English coat with hanging half-sleeves ;

Food and raiment
in England in
the fourteenth
century.

a third would appear in a Bohemian gown with ample skirt and huge *poke-sleeves*, while his hood was twisted into a graceful cap with a jewelled brooch fastened above the forehead, and a long lappet hanging on the left side of the face as far as the collar. A fourth would use a furred Russian cap as head-gear, and a long Gascon mantle, buttoned on the right shoulder, for a cloak. Riding-boots of *Cordova* or morocco leather reaching to mid-thigh, and broad riding-hats set with jewels or small feathered caps were worn on horseback; and all spurs were now rowelled. The great ladies copied the fashions of their lords, and took special pleasure in the ermine-edged and jewel-clasped *cote-hardie*, and over it the deep-furred mantle with silver clasps and silken neck-cords; their kirtles, like the men's, were of indigo blue, Lincoln green, or scarlet cloth, square-collared, tight-fitting, bejagged, and fastened with rows of little buttons. The matron's head-dress was a kerchief of fine lawn or cambric or coloured silk draped over the hair, which was gathered up into *bosses* standing out from the head at either temple, and kept in place by a net of gold or silver wire. Unwedded ladies wore a ribbon of silk instead of the kerchief. Both men and women often wore costly *chaplets*, strings of pearls or jewels or carved beads, or wreaths of twisted ribbons. Women's shoes were of stamped leather or embroidered stuff; a jewelled girdle with a long hanging end was worn about the waist of the kirtle, and showed through the side-openings of the *cote-hardie*. Both ladies and gentlemen wore broad collars of silver and gold, such as only mayors and ushers bear nowadays. The very harness of the horses was most richly adorned. Queen Ann is said to have brought in a kind of side-saddle from Bohemia which became the fashion for great ladies, but most gentlewomen still rode in the old fashion. The ballad thus describes a queen's riding-gear:—

“Her saddle was of the rowel bone [ivory inlaid], seemly sight it was to see,

Thickly set with precious stones, and compassed [trimmed] all with broidery;

Her girths of noble silk they were, the buckles all of beryl-stone;

The stirrups were of crystal clear, and all with pearl-work overdone;

The poytral was of pall [velvet] so fine; the crupper was of orfary [gold-broidered stuff];

The bridle was of golden twine; with silver bells on each side three.”

The ordinary dress of middle-class folk was of course not so fine as those above described. The women wore clothes

cut much as nuns' are now, but of gay colours. The men usually wore hood, tunic, and hose, but when fully dressed put on over these a long buttoned cloth gown of the colour of their *livery* or *guild*, with bagged or tight sleeves, girt with a plain leathern girdle. A serjeant-at-law or a judge wore a gown of parti-coloured stuff, belted with a striped silk sash, fur cape, and white silk *coif* [skull-cap]. The hair and beard were worn long, in the old English fashion.

It was not only in dress that the costly habits of the richer classes were shown, but also in the grand banquets, with their varied viands, foreign wines, and gorgeous services of plate, at which whole days would be passed. A court poet thus tells of such a feast :—

“ There came in at the *first course*, before the king's self,
Boars' heads on broad dishes of burnished silver,
Flesh of fat harts with noble furmenty,
And peacocks and plovers on platters of gold,
Hérons and swans in chargers of silver,
And tarts of Turkey full pleasant to taste.
Next hams of wild-boar with brawn beglazed,
Barnacle-geese and bitterns in embossed dishes,
Venison in pasties, so comely to view,
Jellies that glittered and gladdened the eye.
Then cranes and curlews craftily roasted,
Conies in clear sauce coloured so bright,
Pheasants in their feathers on the flashing silver,
With gay galantines and dainties galore.
There were claret and Crete wine in clear silver fountains,
Wine of Alsace and Antioch and Hippocras enough,
Vernaccia from Venice, a wine of great virtue,
Rhenish wine and Rochelle, and wine from Mount Rose,
All in flagons of fine gold, and on the fair cupboard
Stood store of gilt goblets glorious of hue,
Sixty of one set with jewels on their sides.”

When the banquet was over the guests wash their hands in rosewater, and go forth two and two to the chamber or parlour, where

“ Spices [dessert] were dispensed with unsparing hand,
And Malmsey and Muscatel, those marvellous drinks,
Went readily round in fair russet cups.”

We may compare all this good cheer and fine raiment with the poor ploughman's fare and clothing.

7. Just as in Italy the Tuscan was chosen among the other dialects to become *the tongue* of Italy, so in England it was now that choice was made of one speech which should henceforward become *the English tongue*. The *Southern* dialect was set aside,

Beginning of our
modern book
English.

men had almost ceased to write in it, and it was spoken in the most out-of-the-way and least central counties. The *Northern* dialect became the tongue of the Scottish court, in which Scottish poets and prose-writers wrote and talked down to the eighteenth century; but south of Tweed it was the *Midland* dialect, which became the *King's English*, and fathered our spoken and written *English* of to-day. It is not hard to see why this was, *it was the dialect most easily understood by those who spoke the other two*; it was spoken at both the *universities* and at the *court* (which usually lay in the midlands), hence those who wrote it could count upon the richest and most numerous readers, so that writers were drawn to use it, and songs and dancing ballads and tales were chiefly composed in it, and it became the tongue of the government. Moreover, such great authors as William of Langland, Wycliff, and Chaucer, who used it, set a pattern which lesser men naturally followed. For instance, when King James of Scotland wished to write verses he chose to take Chaucer, "the lodestar of our language," as his model rather than the less famous poets of his own northern speech. Samples of *Midland English* of the fourteenth century are—

[*Loan-words in the texts are put in italics.*]

ROBERT OF BOURNE'S *Handling Sin.* 1303.

The bondeman [slave] answered and seyde
 Wurdys [words] togedyr ful weyl [well] layde,
 The Lorde that made of erthe erles [earls, gentry],
 Of the same erthe made he cherles [hurls, plain folk];
 Erles myght [mighty] and lordes stut [stout]
 As [like] cherles shal yn erthe be *put*;
 Erles, cherles, alle at ones [once],
 Shal none knowe yhoure [your] fro oure bones.

WILLIAM OF LANGLAND. *Vision of Do Best.* About 1390.

Deth cam drywing [galloping] after, and al to douste [dust]
pashte [pushed]
 Kynges and knyghtes, *caysers* [Cæsars] and *popes*,
 Lered [clergy] ne lewide [laymen], he lefte no man stande [to
 stand],
 That [whom] he hitte euene [fairly] steredede [stirred] neuere
 after.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER. *Canterbury Tales*. About 1385.

Redeth [read ye] Senek [Seneca], and redeth eke Boece
[Boethius],

Ther shal ye seen *express*, that it no dred is [without any
fear]

That he is *gentil* [noble] that doth *gentil* deedis.

He that *coveiteth* is a *poure* wiht [wight],

For he wold that [wishes that which] is not within his miht,

But who noht hath, ne *coveiteth* to have,

Is riche altho ye hold him but a knave [poor man].

The sounds and grammar of *Midland English* changed little during this hundred years, but its store of words was largely new; numbers of English words which had been replaced by French and other foreign words now dropped out altogether, and in William of Langland or Chaucer's works one finds not more than six or seven words in a hundred which cannot now be understood. The chief difference, indeed, between the *Northern* and *Midland English*, beside pronunciation, lies in the far greater number of old English and Danish words kept by the former, as even at this day may be seen from a glance at the pages of Burns or other modern Scottish poets. The following lines give a fair sample of the Northern dialect of the fourteenth century:—

Troy-Book. By Sir HUGH OF EGLINTOUN (?) 1350.

Soth *stories* ben stoken up and straught out of mynde,
[*True tales are shut up and gone out of mind,*]

And swolowet into swim by swiftenes of yeres,

[And swallowed into forgetfulness by the *speeding* of *time*,]

For new that ben now next at our hond,

[For new-ones that *are now nearest* to our hand,]

Breuit into bokes for bolding of hertes.

[*Written* into books for the-*encouraging* of our-hearts.]

But olde *stories* of stithe that *astat* held

[But old stories of *brave-men* that *power* held]

May be *solas* to sum that it seggh neuer,

[May be a solace to some that it (their deeds) saw never,]

Be writing of wees that wist it indede.

[By the-writing of *men* that knew it *really*.]

JOHN BARBOUR, Archdeacon of Aberdeen. *The Brus*. 1375.

A [Ah], fredom is a *noble* thing !

Fredom mayss [makes] man to haiff liking [pleasure],

Freedom all *solas* [solace] to man giffis,
 He levys at *ess* [ease] that frely lyvys,
 A *noble* hart may haiff nan *ess*
 Na ellys nocht that may him *pless* [please]
 Giff freedom failgh [fail], for fre liking
 Is yharnit [desired] our [above] all othir thing.

8. Ever since the Conquest gentlefolk had read and written French, and what English books had been written were written for the middle and poorer classes. However, now that the lords and gentry no longer held estates in France, but were born and bred in England, though they still understood and spoke French, they began to find it easier to read their favourite poems and tales in English than in French. Writers, therefore, set themselves to English the most famous French and Latin books for their use. At the end of the thirteenth century, *Robert of Gloucester* was, as we have seen, making his charming "Chronicle of England" and the "Saints' Lives" in English rhyme. Among his fellow-authors were the writer of the popular "Cursor Mundi," a huge rhyming Scripture history, and *Robert Manning*, a canon and priest of Bourne, who not only Englished *Peter of Langtoft's* French "Chronicle of Edward I.," but also *William of Wadington's* "Manuel des Péchés," which he called "Handling Sin," and *Bonaventura's* "Meditations on the Lord's Supper." Nor is *Richard Rolle, the hermit* of Hampole, to be forgotten, the author of one version of the widely-read "Stimulus Conscientiæ," of which there was also a south English translation. All these religious books found eager readers among both parish priests, and monks, and pious laymen. Nor was there any lack of lighter reading. *William*, a man from the Severn valley, did the poem of "William of Palermo" into English alliterative (letter-stressed) metre for Humfrey of Bohun, Earl of Hereford, about 1350, and the Romances of Alexander, Vespasian, and the Knight of the Swan were also Englished in the same way about the same time.

At the Scottish court of David were two "gude makaris," *Sir Hugh of Eglintoun*, 1320-1381 (judge of the Royal Court and husband of Gill, half-sister of Robert II.), and *Clerk of Tranent*, about 1375. Sir Hugh used the old verse for his "Morte Arthur," "Troy-Book," and "Bible Stories," but added rhyme and stanza-form to letter-stress in the "Pearl," "Susanna," and the "Adventure of Gawayn." It was this kind of verse that Clerk chose for his poems on

English literature in the fourteenth century.
 Chaucer, Wycliff,
 Langland, Eglintoun, Froissart.

Gawayn. These two men were not mere translators, they took old stories and gave them fresh life and beauty. Another Scot of letters was *John Barbour*, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who wrote a rhyming "Troy-Book," Saints' Lives, and an oft-quoted poem, "The Brus," which has never been forgotten in Scotland. A fourth northern author, who made a fine rhyming poem on Sir Tristram, was followed by a shoal of copiers, who turned most of the French tales of "Knights Adventurous" and the Latin "Saints' Lives" into what was often mere clinking doggerel, of the kind Chaucer mocks in "Sir Topaz." The earlier and better of these rhymed *gestes* are by Northerners, the later and worse by Midland men.

The fourteenth century also gives birth to the English and Scottish ballad, the most beautiful of all modern popular poetry. The metre was that of the earlier French dancing songs (the later French ballad is wholly of another kind); and our oldest ballads were made for singing to the round dance, with *burdens* or choruses in which all the company joined. The first Robin Hood ballad ("Robin and Wrennock") is as early as Edward III., as is the first border ballad ("Thomas of Ercildoun"); the first historical ballad ("Otterburn Fray") is of Richard II.'s time. In Edward III.'s days, the war-songs of *Lawrence Minot*, in French rhyme, must not be left out; and Froissart the chronicler and other French poets wrote love poems for Richard II. There are hundreds of songs and carols of the like kind by unknown English poets of this and the following reigns.

We have seen how great was the power of *Wycliff* and his disciples on English thought, it was even greater on the English tongue, for they certainly gave a start to English prose-writing. The famous French allegory the "Romance of the Rose," by *William Lorris*, and *John Clopinel* of Meung, with its humour, satire, and thoughtfulness, no doubt had some weight with our *William of Langland*, though both in matter, verse, and plot he is thoroughly English, and uses the popular love of allegory which the French poets had fostered, for his own aims and in his own way. He, like them, had many followers, mostly among the earnest Lollards, to whom we owe the "Plowman's Creed," "Jack Upland," and the like.

But by far the foremost figure among English writers of this day is *Geoffrey Chaucer*. Born about 1340, the son of a merchant vintner in Thames Street, London, he passed his youth in the household of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and after his death became a follower of John of Gaunt, in whose ser-

vice and King Richard's he spent nearly all his life. He fought in France in his youth, and was prisoner there from 1359 to 1360. In his manhood he was often abroad in France and Italy on embassies, 1372-1384, from Edward III. or Richard II. He also served the king as Comptroller of the Customs, 1374-1382, and Clerk of the Works, 1389-1391, and he sat as knight of the shire for Kent in the Parliament of 1386. On coming to the throne Henry IV. gave him a pension, but he died the same year in a house close to the Abbey of Westminster, where his body now lies entombed. He was a friend of the French poet *Eustace des Champs* (whose uncle Machault's metre he often used) and of *Otho Graunson*, "the flower of them that *make* [write poetry] in France," and in Italy he may have met Petrarca and Boccaccio, whose works he admired and copied. From the Italians he learned to write in a smooth and natural style; but he had gifts of his own which lifted him above his masters, sound common-sense, delightful mirth, and kindliness of soul, and from them he gained his keen, quick insight into truths which were dim or wholly dark to most men of his day. So that though he was court poet, a gentleman writing for the pleasure of lords and ladies, not caring to teach any new thing or wishing for any sudden changes, his work is truthful, natural, and lasting, and he has left us not only the best picture of his own age, but the deepest views of men's hearts and thoughts that had yet been set on paper in England. His first works were copies of the French poems of the day, he also translated Boccaccio's "*Filostrato*," paraphrased Boethius' "*Comfort of Wisdom*" (King Alfred's old favourite), and made a "*Book on the Astrolabe*" for his son Lewis. But the "*Canterbury Tales*" is his best work—a great undertaking of which not a quarter was finished, but which is none the less the most perfect piece of writing any Englishman before the Reformation ever penned, and fully justifies the honour in which later English poets have held its author. Already in his own day Chaucer had many friends and admirers, chief of whom was *John Gower*, 1330-1402, a favourite poet of Richard II., for whom he made his "*Lover's Confession*," a long medley of moral tales somewhat after Robert of Bourne's model. Gower also wrote the "*Thinker's Looking-Glass*" in French, but his best poem, a thoughtful satire called the "*Voice of One Crying*," is in Latin.

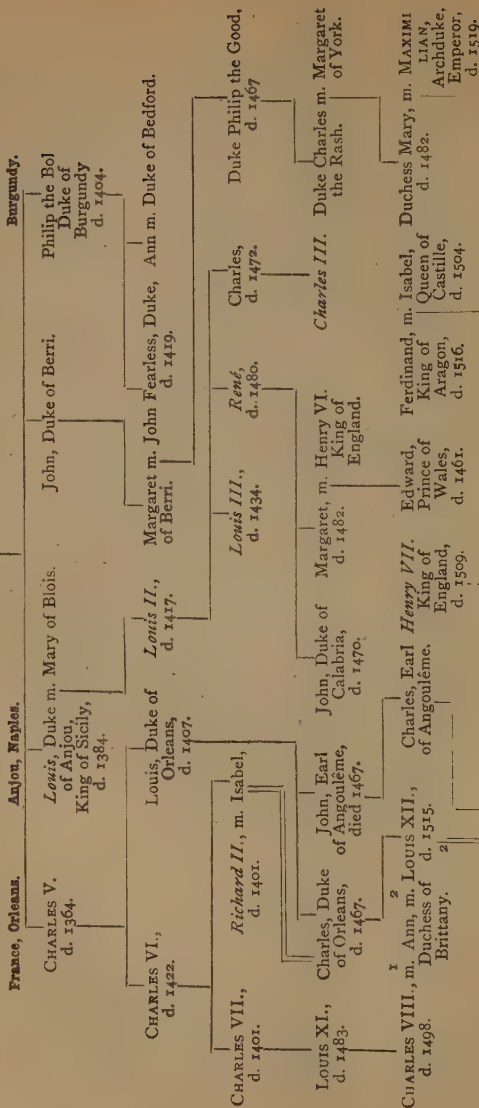
In history the Latin chroniclers are still our chief guides. *John of Trokelowe* (1307-1323) and the painstaking *Thomas Walsingham* (1377-1392) keep up the credit of S. Albans.

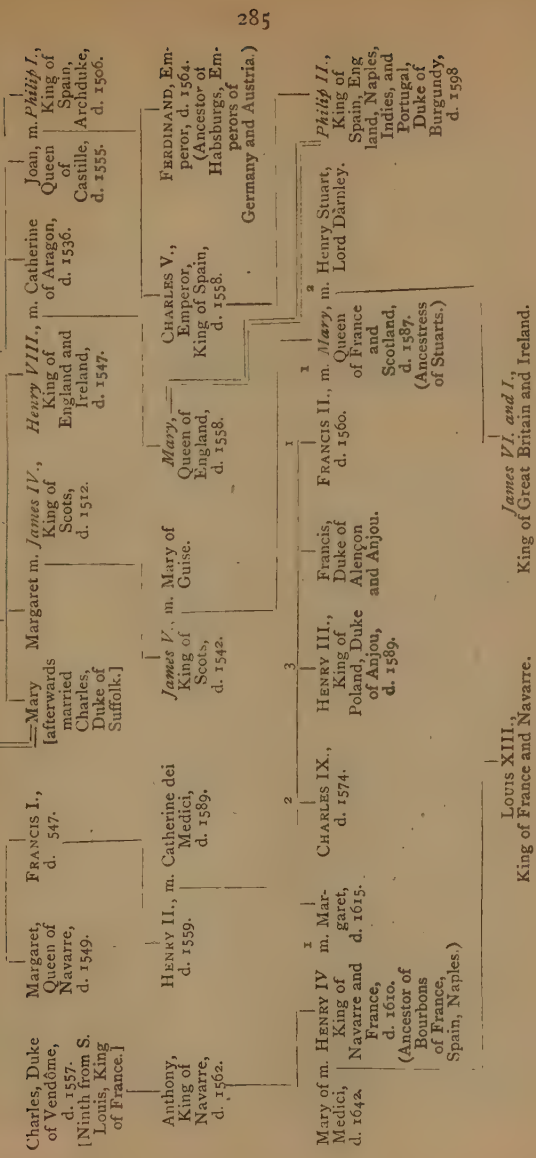
A *Malmesbury monk* writes on Edward II.'s reign. *Walter of Gisburne* or *Hemingsford* is the last of the Northern chroniclers of the legal type of Howden, and goes down to 1346, and *Robert of Avesbury*, the exact Registrar of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court, does like worthy work for Edward III.'s reign. A learned black friar, *Nicholas Trevet*, who had studied at Oxford and Paris, wrote a brief and careful history of Edward I. and Henry III.; and a Chester monk of S. Werburg's, named *Randolf Higden*, made a huge encyclopædia of English history down to his own day, called "Polychronicon," which a priest of Berkeley, *John of Trevisa*, Englished in almost the last big book in the Southern dialect. It is also a clear sign that the English people wanted books in their own tongue. One of Richard's servants gives in French an "Account of his first Irish Expedition," and another has left the "Chronicle of his Betrayal and Death." *John le Bel* [the Fair], a canon of Liège and follower of the house of Hainault, who was in England at the beginning of Edward III.'s reign, wrote of English history in French down to 1360, and *John Froissart*, a priest who wrote for Ingelram, Earl of Bedford, and Earl John of Blois, continued his work down to 1400. Froissart's love of deeds of arms and pleasant way of writing have always made his chronicle a favourite, while his knowledge of English exploits and interests in foreign lands, Flanders, Gascony, Spain, Brittany, Germany, Italy, and France, give it much value. But it is perhaps in his book that one can most plainly see the selfish disregard of the poor, and the wanton pride, and lust, and haste to shed blood, which were so soon to bring ruin upon the nobles, who gave way to them,—a ruin that happily cleared the path for men with higher aims than their own present pleasures.

"This worldly welth is noght perseverant,
Ne nevere abiding in stabilitie."

THE HOUSES OF FRANCE, ORLEANS, ANGOULEME, NAPLES, AND BURGUNDY.

JOHN THE GOOD, d. 1364.





BOOK V.

THE STRUGGLES OF YORK AND LANCASTER AT HOME AND ABROAD.

CHAPTER I.

Henry IV. of Bolingbroke, 1399-1413.

1. THE new king was crowned with great pomp 13th October 1399. Forty-six young squires were made Knights of the Bath, and walked to church with green silken shoulder-knots on their mantles. Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, who had married Henry's half-sister, Joan Beaufort, was made Marshal; Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, was made Constable and Lord of Man; his son Harry, Lord of Anglesey and Lieutenant of North Wales; and his brother Thomas, Earl of Worcester, named Admiral and Lieutenant of South Wales. Arundel was again acknowledged as archbishop. Parliament met on the 15th, and ordered the Acts of last Parliament to be cancelled, and those of 1388 restored; the blank charters were to be destroyed. Henry, the king's son, was made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, and the king promised that the power of the Estates should not again be given to a small Board. On the 16th, Sir William Bagot, Richard's former minister, charged Aumâle with the murder of Gloucester. But Aumâle, Surrey, and Exeter challenged him to wager of battle. All the parties were Henry IV. and the nobles, 1399. arrested. On the 23d, the Lords condemned King Richard to perpetual prison, the Commons saying that they would not be parties to any judgments given in parliament. On the 3d November, those of the appellants of 1397 who were still alive were judged: Aumâle, Surrey, Exeter were to lose their dukedoms, and

remain Earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon; Marquis Dorset and the Earl of Gloucester to come back to their old titles of Earl of Somerset and Lord Despenser; the Earl of Salisbury was to prove his guiltlessness by battle with Lord Morley, his challenger. Later, the Earls of Suffolk, Arundel, and Warwick were restored to their former rights, and the earldoms of Aquitaine and Lancaster given to the Prince of Wales. Yet the outlook was not very bright. Many in England disliked or feared Henry. France, and Scotland, and Flanders were openly unfriendly to him, and Wales staunch to Richard. The king's help came chiefly from Arundel (who led the stronger half of the English Church) and those great northern barons to whom he was largely beholden for his crown. His aims were peace and cheap government at home, the reconquest of his heritage abroad, and the upholding of the Church by the crushing of heresy. But he was not able to carry out one of these plans fully, for he could never gain the love of his people, his nobles would only help him for their own ends, and he was so crippled all his life for want of money that the pay of Calais garrison was left years in arrear, and the wages of his ambassadors abroad were only doled out to them when they threatened to throw up their thankless task. Henry had, moreover, to face the danger which every English king, for more than a hundred years after Richard's dethronement had to meet—the bitter and relentless feud which rent the royal house, and destroyed nearly all the descendants of Edward III., only ceasing for a while during a cruel and unprofitable foreign war.

2. The first plot of the many which mark this reign was planned early in 1400 by the Earls of Kent, Huntingdon, and Salisbury, and Lord Despenser at Oxford. Under colour of holding a tournament, they were to gather at Windsor on Twelfth Night, seize and put to death the king and his sons, and put back King Richard. But Rutland, whose share in the plot was discovered by his father, rode in haste to tell Henry all, and so save himself. The king at once stole off to the Tower to gather troops. The earls, disappointed of their prey, went past Windsor to Sunning, where Isabel, Richard's young queen, was living. Here Kent, putting a good face on the matter, boasted that Henry, for all his soldiership and renown, had fled before them, and declaring that Richard had escaped from prison, and was waiting at Radcot Bridge with 100,000 men ready to win back his own, called upon true men to follow him.

He then tore off the collars of gold Henry had given to some of those present, and made the yeomen cast under foot the silver crescent badge of Lancaster. With a small following, Kent and Salisbury rode on to Cirencester, but there being attacked by the townsfolk who favoured Henry, were obliged to give themselves up. Next day a priest of their train secretly set fire to certain thatched houses in the town, hoping that in the turmoil his masters the earls might get away. But the townsfolk were so angry at this breach of faith, that they haled the prisoners out of the Abbey, where they lay, and cut off their heads forthwith, before they went back to put out the fire. Huntingdon had gone to Essex to take ship, to seek help from Richard's French friends, but he was stopped by contrary winds, made prisoner by the levy of Essex, and taken to Plashy, the house of Joan of Arundel, Countess of Hereford, Henry's mother-in-law. Joan would have saved him, but the young Earl of Arundel met him. "You made me your foot-boy when you were a great man at Richard's court, but I will have my revenge now." And he bade the Essex yeomen slay him. Huntingdon pleaded hard for his life. "I never hurt any one of you in my life!" and none of them would lift hand against him. Then Arundel bade a squire of his own kill him. "Here are 8000 men," said Huntingdon, "and art thou the only one cruel enough to kill me. Alas! if I had only gone to Rome when the Pope bade me be his marshal, I should not stand in peril to-day!" But Arundel's threats frightened the squire, and he butchered the prisoner on the very spot where Gloucester had been arrested by King Richard. The Bristol townsfolk beheaded Despenser (with whose house they had a standing feud), and sent his head by Rutland to London, though the king had ordered that he should be spared to speak with him. Others were tried, and put to death at London and Oxford. The poor plan of this rising, and the ill-feeling of the people of the south of England towards the young courtiers of Richard, had more to do with its failure than a love for Henry. The king thanked the Londoners for their readiness in arming for him, promised the men and women of Cirencester two butts of wine and ten fallow deer every year in return for their zeal, and threatened that he would uproot traitors like evil weeds from his garden, and plant in their stead good and wholesome herbs. A few days after this, it was made known that Richard was dead at Pomfret, whither he had

Huntingdon's plot
and Richard's
death, 1400.

been taken from the Tower 29th October 1399. His body was shown at Cheapside, with bared face, for two hours to the people. Whether he died of grief (as did the banished Norfolk at Venice when he heard the news of Richard's fall and Henry's success), or whether, like Edward II., he was secretly murdered, as most men believed, is not known for certain. Some even held that the body shown was that of one Maudlin the chaplain, who was very like Richard, and that Richard had really broken out of Pomfret, and, when the rising failed, fled to Scotland, mad with the disappointment. And it is true that a madman was long kept at the Scottish Court, and cared for as King Richard, though Henry maintained that he was only a runaway priest called Thomas Ward of Trumpington.

3. King Charles of France was shocked at the death of his friend and son-in-law, and feared Henry as a claimant to the French crown; he therefore asked for the little Isabel to be sent back to France with her dower. For some time Henry would not let her go, wishing to marry her to his son, the Prince of Wales; but Charles would hear of no match till she was back to France; so she was returned safely, though her dower was kept as part payment for the ransom of King John, which had never been received in full. Charles suffered

*Henry's fears of
the French and
the Lollards,
1401-6.*

from disease of the brain, which made him helpless for months together; and while he was ill, his brother Louis, Duke of Orleans, and his cousin John, Duke of Burgundy, quarrelled for power. Duke Louis had made a bond of friendship with Henry while they were together in Paris, but he now tore it up, and twice challenged his old friend to wager of battle, accusing him of Richard's murder. Henry refused to fight, but denied the charge by oath. Waleran, Earl of St. Pol, Richard's brother-in-law, also declared war against Henry, and hanged a figure, made to be like Rutland, upon a gibbet by Calais gate, to show his hate of the traitor. So, though there was no open war with France, he and other French nobles fitted up fleets of privateers and began to plunder English ships, and made raids on the English coast, year after year, causing much annoyance and damage.

In order to strengthen himself against his foes in France, Henry took care to keep friendly with Portugal and Castile, of which lands his sisters were queens. Moreover, he gave one of his daughters, Blanche, in marriage to Louis, son of Rupert, king of the Romans, and the other, Philippa, with a great portion, to Eric XIII. of Denmark. He him-

self married, in 1403, Joan of Navarre, dowager Duchess of Brittany, a match which gave him little comfort.

Both Henry and the archbishop disliked and feared the Lollards as friends of Richard and enemies of the bishops. And when Parliament was called in 1401, Arundel and his friends got the Commons to petition "that when any man or woman, of whatever estate or rank, was taken or imprisoned for Lollery, such an one should be at once put to plead, and have judgment as he deserved, for an ensample to others of such evil following to quickly cease from their evil preaching, and keep to the Christian faith." And it was made law (*a*) that every one found guilty of heresy in the bishop's court, and persisting therein, should be given over to the sheriff to be burnt on a high place before the people; (*b*) that search should be made for all books of heresy, that they might be burnt. One of the first put to death at this time was William Sawtree, priest of S. Osyth's Church.

4. Wales had never agreed to the unkinging of Richard, and ere long the most part of that country was in open revolt against Henry, who could never, as long as he lived, get his title acknowledged there. The Welsh war was begun by a knight of Mid-Wales, named Owain of Glyndwr or Glyndwr. He was born in 1364, brought up at one of the English Inns of Court, and served as squire to the late Earl of Arundel, and as it is said afterwards to King Richard, who knighted him in 1387. When his master was arrested at Flint, Sir Owain went home to his Welsh estates. Near him dwelt Lord Grey of Ruthin, a Lancastrian partisan, from whom he had once won certain lands by a lawsuit. Lord Grey now, by force of arms, took back these lands, insulting Owain's daughter to boot. Sir Owain complained to the House of Lords, but they would not listen to "bare-footed Welsh buffoons," and gave Grey more of the plaintiff's lands. Whereupon Owain took the law into his own hands, and, being desperate, resolved to rouse his countrymen by setting up his standard as Prince of Wales, calling upon all good Welshmen to gather to him, and fight for their own prince and the true King Richard against the traitor Henry and the false prince, his son. Welsh knights and squires who had once followed Richard, and knew Owain's wisdom and bravery, soon joined him, Welsh scholars hurried away from London and Oxford to fight in his service, and the country-folk of North and Mid-Wales flocked to his host. On September 30, 1400, he broke into Ruthin at fair-time, and burnt it;

Sir Owain of
Glyndwr, Prince
of Wales, 1402.

later on he made a raid to Oswestry, and burnt that town also. The strong castles of Hawarden, Flint, Conway, and Radnor, he took and held, thus making himself master of all North Wales. He took prisoner his foe, Lord Grey, on the Virnwy, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young Earl of March, at Brynglas. He burnt the minsters of St. Asaph, Llandaff, Bangor, and Cwmhir, putting Welsh clergy in place of the Lancastrian priests he drove out. In 1402 he was crowned Prince of Wales at *Machynlledd*. Henry and his son marched against him in vain; they were beaten back by the bad weather before they could force Owain to a battle. Nor could the jealous hate of some of his own countrymen harm him. His brother-in-law, David, son of Llewelyn, surnamed Gam [crooked eye], plotted to kill him, but was found out and put in prison. And Hoel Séle of Nannau, who basely shot at him while they were hunting together, was slain on the spot. These successes and escapes were put down by the English to witchcraft, and great fear fell on Owain's foes. Henry tried to keep the war to Wales by laws forbidding Welshmen, or Englishmen married to Welsh women, from holding lands or office in any part of England or in the English boroughs of Wales.

5. As to Ireland, which Richard had not had time to pacify, the greater part of the English Pale was in the hands of the Irish chiefs and the old settler families of Henry II.'s day. Only the towns were under royal government. The king was anxious to keep the country as quiet as he could, as he had little money to spare in case of war or rebellion. He therefore sent his second son, Thomas, over as his lieutenant, with a yearly grant. He brought in fresh settlers from England, got back much of the crown land that had fallen into the nobles' hands, encouraged the citizens of Dublin to use their ships against the Welsh and Scots sea-rovers, who were in league with the Irish clans. But all was of little use, the Geraldines and Butlers were stronger than the Lieutenant, and throughout this reign there are constant complaints from the Pale of the bad, weak, and starved government of Ireland.

Scotland was a greater danger to Henry. Its king, Robert III., was weak of mind, and all power was in the hands of his eldest son, David, Earl of Rothesay, and his brother, Robert, Earl of Albany, who were bad friends. When homage was refused, Henry marched into Scotland, but though Rothesay challenged him to single combat, neither he nor Albany, the regent, would risk a pitched

battle ; so Henry, who carefully refrained from rousing the Scots by burning or plundering their land, was soon starved back into England. The Earl of Northumberland and his son Harry, whom the Scots called *Hotspur*, were left Wardens of the East and West Marches. They were helped there by George Dunbar, Earl of March, who, in anger at Rothesay not marrying his daughter, as he had promised, came over to the English court, and was taken into Henry's service, with a yearly pension of 500 marks. However, Albany made himself sole ruler in April 1401, by putting Rothesay to death, and it was bruited about in 1402 that he was to lead an army into England, to put back King Richard, whom he declared to have escaped to Scotland. For spreading this news and forwarding this enterprise, Sir Roger Clarendon, Richard's chamberlain Serle, and a number of Grey Brothers were afterwards punished as traitors in England. However, in July the Scots really came. March had defeated a body of Scottish raiders at *Nesbit Moor*, killing their leader, Hepburn of Hales. Douglas, March's old foe, thereupon asked Albany to send him with a large force into England. They reached the Tyne, when March and the Percies got behind them, and cut off their retreat at *Homildon Hill*, September 14, 1402. On that day Otterburn was avenged, for the English archers galled their foes sorely, and when the Scottish knights charged, poured such thick volleys into them that they turned and fled, many being drowned in the Tweed, as they tried to cross it in their flight. So the day was won by the long-bow alone, no Englishman having drawn his sword. The Earls of Douglas, Angus, Moray, and Orkney were taken prisoners ; but the best prizes were held to be Murdac, Earl of Fife, Albany's eldest son, and Robert Logan the privateer, who had sworn to sweep English fishermen and merchants from the North Sea.

6. Yet this victory well-nigh proved Henry's overthrow. The Percies got but little thanks for their deeds, while the £2000 they spent in the king's service was but slowly repaid ; and though Henry ransomed Lord Grey from Owain, he would not purchase the freedom of Hotspur's brother-in-law, Sir Edmund Mortimer. In their anger they sent secretly to treat with the cunning Welsh prince. He readily listened to them, set Mortimer free, and married him to his own daughter. The Percies, on their side, forgave Douglas his ransom, on his promise to join them with a band of Scottish knights. Help was sent for from France.

Many northern lords favoured the plotters, who were to crown the true heir, Richard, or, if he were really dead, the young Earl of March. Pretending that they had settled to fight a pitched battle with the Scots on the 1st August, the Percies boldly sent to Henry for men and money, whereon he promised to join them himself, with George of Dunbar and other brave knights. When he reached Burton-on-Trent, he heard that Hotspur and Douglas had made friends with Glyndwr, and raised Richard's standard in the west. Calling out the levies of the shires, Henry turned, and threw himself into Shrewsbury. The earls now defied him, as false and forsworn, for dethroning and murdering his king, and keeping the crown from the heir, for packing parliaments, for raising income-taxes against law, for ill-treating his nobles. Henry sent the Abbot of Shrewsbury to offer the Percies terms, but Thomas of Worcester played the traitor, and altered the words of the offer, so that Hotspur refused it. The king had chosen his place of battle well, and a field of beans, with knotted stems, covered part of his array. He did not stay by his banner himself, nor wear his own coat of arms, by the advice of Dunbar, who warned him that the earls would chiefly seek to kill or take him, and that if this attack failed, he must win the day. In a headlong charge Hotspur and Douglas reached the royal standard, seeking their foe in vain. But as they fought their way back, ringed round by the king's men, Hotspur was shot dead by an arrow, and Douglas fell badly hurt. The shouts of "Harry Percy king!" were now drowned by the Lancastrian cries of "Percy dead! Percy dead!" and the earl's troops turned and fled, save the Cheshire men, who stood till they were nearly all slain. The traitor Thomas was soon after taken, and beheaded, with other rebel barons. When Northumberland, who was hurrying south to join his son, heard of his death, and found that his shrewd brother-in-law, Ralf, Earl of Westmoreland, was in arms for Henry and barring his road, he laid down his arms and went to beg the king's forgiveness at York. Henry wisely listened to his excuses, and promised him "that he should not go graceless."

The Battle of
Shrewsbury,
July 23, 1403.

Henry had too little money to follow up his victory by falling upon Glyndwr, and when at the Parliament of January 1404 he called for supplies to meet an attack from abroad, the Commons said he had enough revenue, were it but well spent. So in order to get help, Henry had to give way to all their wishes. A privy council of

twenty-one was appointed by their approval, the king's confessor and others were dismissed, with all the aliens at court (save a few personal servants of the new queen, Joan of Navarre), an *ordinance* was made for the rule of the royal household, and £12,100 set apart to maintain it. This done, they granted a shilling on every pound's worth of land in England, to be spent only by the advice of four Treasurers of War named by themselves. The crown was settled on the Prince of Wales and his heirs, and after them, to his brothers, one by one, in order. Northumberland was tried by the Peers, found guilty of trespass, and pardoned. Still the king needed money, and in October 1404 the *Lay* or *Unlearned Parliament* was called by writs, forbidding lawyers to be chosen members thereof, for it was thought that they wasted time in "upholding points at law, and other private business." The Commons gave large taxes, and proposed that the king should take one year's income of the clergy for his wars. But the angry bishops declaring that this would be a breach of the Great Charter, it was settled that all pensions and grants of crown land since 1367 should be looked into, and enough taken back to enable the king "to live on his own."

7. In 1405, James, the young heir of Scotland, was taken off Flamboro' Head, as he was on his way to the French court. "If these Scots had been kindly, they would have sent the boy to me," said Henry, "for I know French well enough to teach him," and he put him in safe keeping with careful masters. Next year, when King Robert died, Henry found the worth of the hostage he held; for Albany, the regent, who loved to rule, saw that it would be wiser not to cause Henry to send back the heir, and thus the English king was rid of one danger.

But the northern lords were not yet sure that they might not get their will by force, and made a fresh revolt. The Lady Despenser tried to carry off young March and his brother to Wales, but they were retaken on the way, whereupon she accused the Duke of York, her brother, and Thomas Mowbray, the earl marshal, son of Henry's old foe, of a plot against the king's life. They were imprisoned, but soon pardoned; and then Mowbray went off to Northumberland, who, with the Archbishop of York and other northern lords, now took up arms. As *proctors* [or *agents*] *for the commonwealth of England*, they asked for a free Parliament, which should consider the reform of the government, find a better way to try lords accused of treason, stop

the lavish expenses of the royal household, and crush the revolt in Wales. Westmoreland, with Thomas Beaufort and John the king's son, went to meet the "reformers," and after defeating them, brought about a parley with the leaders, Lord Scrope and Mowbray, near Shipton, promising to lay their complaints before the king. On this the northern army went home; but Westmoreland arrested the archbishop and the marshal, who were brought to trial as traitors. Sir William Gascoyne, the chief-justice, refused to sentence them, because he thought they ought to have been tried before their peers; but Sir William Fulthorpe and another judge gave judgment against them, and they were beheaded on the 8th June. When they were led out to death in a field of green barley, poor Mowbray's heart failed him, but the archbishop bade him be of good cheer, and met his end so meekly and piously that many men held him for a martyr, and made pilgrimages to his tomb. Archbishop Arundel spoke warmly against the judgment, but John and Thomas Beaufort would not hear of mercy, and told Henry that he must no longer spare his foes. Northumberland and Lord Bardolf fled to Scotland, and lay there for two years, till, fearing Albany might yield them up, they hardened their hearts in 1407 to make another attack on Henry with Owain's help. Sir Thomas Rokeby let them reach Yorkshire, but there fell upon them, at *Bramham Moor*, with deadly success. Northumberland was killed, Bardolf wounded to death, and their friend, the Abbot of Hales, taken and hanged. Thus Henry was freed at last of his most dangerous foes, though ill-health and want of money still tied his hands.

The end of
Henry's English
enemies, 1404-8.

8. Meanwhile the king had been, year by year, forced by his needs to give way to the just claims of the two Houses of Parliament. In 1406, the Speaker claimed of the Crown "good and abundant governance," and advised that the Prince of Wales should carry on war against Glendwr, while the care of the seas should be given to a company of merchants, money being granted for both purposes. The Commons claimed to have the royal accounts audited, and got the king to name a fresh privy council of seventeen, whom they compelled to swear to a set of thirty-one articles, fixing their powers and duties. They further passed laws to secure the freedom of election of *knights of the shire*, and in 1407 made good their claim that the final ordering of money grants lay with them, not with the Lords. The king had

been ailing since 1405, but at the end of 1409 was too ill for business, so that till 1412 his son, the Prince of Wales, and his brothers, the Beauforts, ruled for him, John being Earl of Somerset, Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Chancellor, for Arundel (whose harsh treatment of the Lollards had brought the dislike of many) had resigned. The chief business was the Welsh war, and the danger from France. For Burgundy had made up his mind to win Calais back, if possible, and this he might have accomplished but for the greed and spite of Orleans, who, for his part, had designs on Guienne. Disgusted with Orleans's treachery, jealous of his rule, and maddened by his mocking, in 1407 John stirred one of his gentlemen, Rollet of Actonville, who had his own quarrel with Louis, to take that prince's life. On the evening of the 23d November 1407, as Orleans sat at supper with Queen Isabel, his brother's wife, he was told that the king wished to speak with him. Rising straight from table, he mounted his mule, and set out for Charles's lodging, followed by his two squires on one horse, and a few footmen, with torches. As he rode through the Temple Street, at seven o'clock, singing to himself, and beating time with his glove on his thigh, Rollet, with seventeen armed followers, ran out from under the dark eaves of a house, and struck fiercely at him, with shouts of "Death! death!" One sharp blow cut off his left hand. "I am Louis of Orleans," he cried, "what would ye do?" "We do that for which we came!" they answered, and stabbed him again and again as he lay helpless on the ground, killing also the faithful German squire who tried to cover him from their weapons. Then John of Burgundy, who had stood by, stepped forward, and, looking carefully at his dead cousin's face by the light of a link, cried, "Yes, it is he, sure enough," and, leaving the corpses there in the kennel, hurried off with his men. When the news of the murder got about, the proofs were strong against John, who at first denied it, but afterwards, when he was in safety, dared to boast of the deed as the lawful taking-off of a tyrant. Orleans' party (called *Armagnacs*, because the Earl of Armagnac, father-in-law of Duke Charles, Louis' son, was their leader for the time) resolved upon revenge, and open civil war broke out in France. Burgundy, in 1411, begged help from England, and the Prince of Wales, who disliked the house of Orleans, sent the Earl of Arundel and Kyme and Sir John Oldcastle to help him. They beat the

The power of the Commons acknowledged by King Henry.

Beginning of the Civil War in France, 1407.

Armagnacs at St. Cloud, November 1411, and helped Duke John to take Paris before they came home. The defeat of Glyndwr's great raid in 1409, and the execution of its leaders, Rhys ddu and Philpot Scudamour, led to the submission of most of Mid-Wales. The Lollards now began to stir in England again; a scheme was brought forward by the Commons to take a third of the Church lands, £110,000, for keeping a regular standing army, and another third for the king's other needs, leaving a third to the clergy, besides the lands of the friars, cathedrals and colleges. However, the prince would not hear of this, though he withstood Arundel's attempt to force Courtenay, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, into severities against the Lollards.

9. In 1411 the king grew better, and in his anger at the Beauforts, who had moved him to give up his crown to the Prince of Wales, turned them out of office to make way for his second son, Thomas (whom he made Duke of Clarence), and Archbishop Arundel. Clarence heard that the French princes were likely to make up their quarrel for a time, so he offered help to Orleans, and led an army into Normandy in 1412. But after laying waste that dukedom, and Maine and Anjou, he was bought off and marched into Guienne. Before more was done the king fell ill again. After a fit, which seized him while he was praying at S. Edmund's chapel in Westminster, he sank rapidly, and died on March 20, 1413, in the Jerusalem Chamber. His body is buried in Canterbury minster. In his last illness his confessor begged him to repent for three great sins—the murder of Richard, the execution of the archbishop, and the wrongful seizure of the crown—and the dying king answered him, "As for the two first, the pope has absolved me; and for the third, even though I gave up the crown, my sons would not let it go out of the family." It is said that he called the prince to him and warned him that he had won his crown ill, and that he that should wear it must render a strict account therefor. He also spoke of his great desire to go on a crusade, saying that he had laid money aside to take an army to win back the Lord's sepulchre, and thus atone for his sins. Henry was a strong and handsome man, of grave face and staid speech, a trained knight, a persevering and shrewd party leader, yet he found the burden he had taken upon himself almost too heavy for him. He had been bold and ambitious in his youth, but as king he was slow to do anything that might endanger his crown, and took great pains to please those

Henry's death
and character

upon whose goodwill his power rested, though he was never popular. He had not scrupled to shed blood to gain his own ends, yet he was merciful by nature, and could never altogether shake off the feeling that he had sinned heavily. The continual resistance he met even in his family aged him before his time, and his mistrust of his own son is but a single proof of his uneasy mind.

CHAPTER II.

Henry V. of Monmouth, 1413-1422.

1. On taking up the rule of the nation, Henry, who was crowned on Palm Sunday, April 9, 1413, on a dark, cloudy, wet day, at once showed such zeal and earnestness that those who had looked on him as a selfish, reckless, and quarrelsome young man wondered at his wisdom. On the other hand, those who had hoped that he would dismiss his father's friends and show favour to the Lollards were not well pleased. Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, the new king's uncle, being made chancellor in Arundel's place, the archbishop busied himself with attacking the Wicliffites. He got Convocation to send up to the council the name of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, an old friend and fellow-soldier of Henry's, as one that sheltered heretics and spread evil teaching. The king himself spoke with Sir John, but could not get him to change his views, so the summons was issued for his trial. But Oldcastle paid no heed till he was taken by the king's officers and brought before Arundel. He then defended himself boldly, charging his judges and accusers with sin and crime. But he was sentenced to death, forty days' grace being given him wherein to repent if he would. Within two weeks, however, he broke out of the Tower, and in spite of the curse of the bishops and the high reward set on his head by the king, was kept in safe hiding. And now he and his Lollard friends
Oldcastle's plot, January 1414. made a plot to seize Henry at Eltham, and force him to rule as they thought good, but he hurried to London before they could take him. Their next plan was to call a meeting of all their followers for the 12th January 1414, at St. Giles's Fields. But, on the evening before, Henry closed and guarded the gates of London, and rode out

with many knights to stop the gathering. Those already at the tryst were seized or killed, and the other bands taken or driven off as they came up one by one. Oldcastle took alarm and fled, but his friend, Sir Roger Acton, was tried for treason, found guilty, and put to death with some thirty more. It was said that these men, had they been successful, meant to set right both Church and State, choosing Captains for each shire to rule them under Oldcastle (who was to be Captain of England), doing away with serfdom, harsh land-laws, and heavy taxes, and taking the estates of the Church for the defence of the realm. Many in south England still clung to the hope of such changes, so this year the Parliament was held at Leicester, where it was made law—

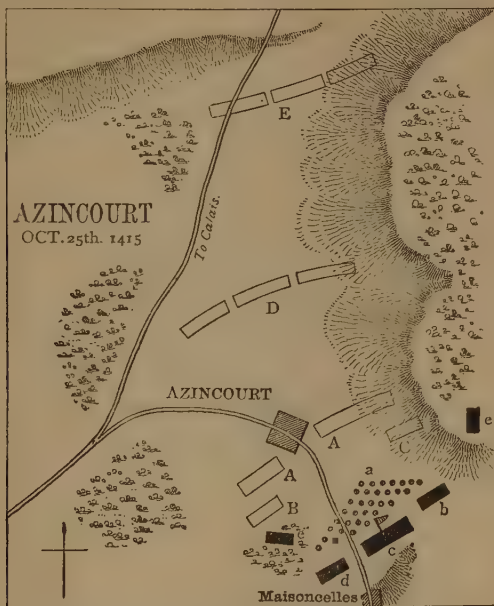
(a) That constables and justices should not wait for the bishop's orders, but of their own accord send to the Church courts for trial all whom they believed to be Lollards. (b) That the lands of the *alien priories*, namely, the estates in England belonging to monasteries over sea, should be in the king's charge for ever, lest English wealth should be used against England. (c) That henceforward no law made on the request of the Commons should be entered on the rolls so as to change its meaning and intent. (d) John and Humfrey, the king's brothers, were made Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, his cousin Richard, Earl of Cambridge, and Thomas Beaufort, his kinsman, confirmed as Earl of Dorset. (e) It was resolved to send and demand the king's rights from France, and, upon refusal, to enforce these rights by arms.

This last step was taken because the king wished to win a principality in France wherein to find help and refuge if he were ever driven from England, and because the nobles were eager for a chance of winning fame and riches, while the merchants looked to the gain that would flow from trade when Normandy and north France were in English hands, and the safety of the sea thereby secured. Most eager of all were the clergy, who hoped that a war would turn men's minds from the ideas spread by the Lollards. France was weak at this time. Charles VI. was still mad, and therefore helpless to curb the feuds of his selfish kinsmen, who were ruining their country; on one side the dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, and the southern lords; on the other, John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, who was favoured by Paris and the great towns. Knowing the danger, the French court offered Henry's ambassadors Aquitaine and the hand of the king's daughter Katherine, with a dower of 400,000 nobles. But this was not enough for him. So calling a fresh

Parliament, November 1414, he got a large grant, and raising all the money he could, made ready for war. Bedford was made Lieutenant of the realm, and the noble houses that had quarrelled with the late king were pacified by the burial of Richard II. at Westminster, and the promise of giving back to the young earls, March, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, their rank and royal favour. An army was raised by contract, and a navy gathered to ship it over Channel. Rules were made for the sharing of the booty, and the ransom of the prisoners that might be taken. Henry went Cambridge's plot, July 1415. down to Portsmouth to embark, when a plot formed against him by the Earl of Cambridge was revealed to him by that earl's brother-in-law, March. As soon as the king had sailed, March, now heir-by-blood to the crown, was to have been carried off to Wales and proclaimed king, if it were found for certain that Richard II. was dead; the Scots were to be called in, and money was to be got from France. Cambridge and his fellows were at once tried, found guilty, and put to death, August 2 and 5.

2. On the 13th August, Henry brought up his fleet of 1500, and, landing, beset Harfleur with an army of 6000 men-at-arms, 24,000 archers, and a number of *bombards* or siege guns. The English suffered much from sickness caused by bad weather, unwholesome food, drunkenness, and dirt; but the great guns *London*, *Messenger*, and *King's Daughter* breached the walls before any aid came from the French council, and Gaucourt, the governor, yielded in despair, September 22. Henry repaired the walls, and put in an English garrison, under the Earl of Dorset, his uncle, sent the sick and wounded back to England, and before leaving the place, wrote a letter to the dauphin in which he offered to fight him man to man, to settle their quarrel without further bloodshed of their countrymen. But the dauphin made no answer, and, October 8, Henry started for Calais, with 900 lancers and 5000 bowmen. His way was not easy; the country before him was laid bare by the peasants, some days his men got nothing but walnuts to eat, and the weather was rainy. The lower fords were stopped; but by swift marching and good luck they crossed the Bresle, the Somme, and the water of Swords, and reached Maisonnelles October 24. Here the way was barred by the Constable of France, at the head of 80,000 men. The English halted, watched all night under arms without food, within sight of the French camp-field, and within hearing of their boastful merriment. In the morning,

after service, they drew up in a field of fresh-sown corn, face to face with the French host, that stretched across the plain by the hamlet of *Azincourt*.



A A Constable and Marshal.
 B Earl of Vendome.
 C Admiral.
 D Dukes of Alençon and Bar.
 E Earls of Fauconberg and Maine.

a English archers.
 b Duke of York.
 c Henry V.
 d Duke of Exeter.
 ee Troops sent forward to make flank attack.

The king, in full armour, with a jewelled crown glittering on his helmet, set his troops in order, and when all was ready, he prayed aloud for victory. Then turning to his men he bade them fight boldly, for God was on their side, promised them that England should never pay ransom for him, and warned them that the French had cruelly sworn to maim every archer they took, so that he should never shoot again. When he saw that the constable would not attack, he sent

Battle of Azincourt, Oct. 25, 1415.

forward two companies through the woods that fringed the plain, with orders to harass the French flank when the battle was joined. He then gave his cousin York the vanguard to lead, and alighted from his horse, meaning to fight on foot in front of his royal banner in the old English fashion. "What time is it now?" he asked. "The bells are ringing prime, my lord?" "Now is good time," said he; "England prayeth for us, let us be of good cheer. Banners, advance!" With a loud shout the English bowmen ran forward twenty paces; then halting, every man planted his five-foot stake which he carried firmly in the earth a pace from that of his comrade, so as to make a palisade which would stop horsemen, but allow footmen to pass through easily. This done they stepped out a few yards in front, and poured a shower of flight-arrows upon the first lines of French knights: "And then these Frenchmen came pricking down, as they would have overridden all our company. But God and our archers made them soon to stumble, for our archers shot never arrow amiss, that did not pierce and bring to ground horse and man. And our stakes made them stop, and overturned them one upon another, so that they lay on heaps two spears high. And our king, with his company and his men-at-arms and archers thwacked on them so thick with arrows, and laid on with strokes. And our king fought like a man, with his own hands." The second French line charged in vain. Our bowmen were stripped to the waist, that they might use their arms more freely, and had one foot bared to get firm foothold in the slippery, rain-sodden, fresh-ploughed ground; they could therefore move more nimbly than their heavy-armed foes. So, as the French approached, they stopped shooting, slung their bows at their backs, and fell on with sword and mall, axe and bill, doing great slaughter. But the French followed on so fast, and were so many, that the whole English army was soon engaged. Gloucester fell at his brother's feet wounded by a dagger-thrust, but Henry strode across him and beat off his assailants. The Duke of Alençon and a band of knights, who had sworn to take or slay the English king, made their way to where he stood. Alençon felled York with one blow, and cut the king's crown from his helmet with another, but was borne down and killed by Henry's Welsh squires. The fight had lasted an hour; and now the French knights, leaderless and broken, gave up their swords, so that the English soon made hundreds of prisoners, whom, wishing to save for ransom, they passed under

guard to the rear of their army. But in the lull before the looked-for onslaught of the third French line, news was brought Henry that an attack was being made upon Maisoncelles behind him. Fearing lest his rearguard, cumbered with prisoners, should fall into disorder, he ordered every man to cut down his prisoner without more ado. So, before it was found out that it was but a mob of French peasants who had come to steal the baggage and the horses, but were driven off in a few minutes, most of the prisoners had been butchered. Meanwhile, the English from the woods burst out upon the flank of the third French line, which, save a few who still followed their leaders to death, turned and fled. The day was Henry's; 300 French lords, amongst them the Constable and Admiral of France, and the Dukes of Alençon, Bar, and Brabant, with 8000 knights and squires, and 2000 men-at-arms, lay dead. The Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans were prisoners. On the English side, the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk and 1600 men only had fallen. The thanksgiving service was held at once on the field by Henry's orders, and the English dead and the French arms that could not be taken away, burnt in two large barns. Next morning the conquerors started for Calais, killing the French wounded whom they found alive as they crossed the field of battle. On November 17, he passed over to England on such a rough day that two ships sank, and the French prisoners said they would rather fight another battle than go to sea again in a gale. Henry was received with great joy; the Dover townsfolk rushing waist-high into the surf to carry him ashore on their shoulders. There were processions of welcome, and feasts and merry-making at every town he passed through on his way to London; and there the streets were decked, the bells ringing, shows and songs of welcome at every turn, as Henry, clad in a dark purple gown, rode with a grave face to give thanks for his victory at St. Paul's Cathedral, and then went in his barge to the Abbey Church of St. Peter's, Westminster.

3. The *schism* between the rival popes at Rome and Avignon had caused great grief to all who wished for the good of the Church, which was torn asunder by their quarrels. In 1409 a general Council of clergy, held at *Pisa*, had put down the Roman pope Gregory XII. and the French pope Benedict XIII., and set up John XXIII. in their place. But John led a bad life, and the unseated popes would not yield to the Council's decrees. So things

were worse than before. Pope John was forced to call another Council at *Constance* to stop the *schism*, put down heresy, and reform the Church. There, in 1414, 18,000 clergymen gathered. They voted in five groups—German, Italian, French, English, and Spanish. The English were much looked up to because of their king's power and success, and their own zeal and shrewd speeches; but they quarrelled with the French clergy, who were also eager for reforms, and little was done, save the trial and burning of John Hus, a learned and much-loved Bohemian professor, who had studied Wiclif's writings, and set forth many of his views. Sigismund, the emperor-elect, who had spared no pains to get the Council together, therefore went to France, and thence to England, hoping to get Charles and Henry to make peace, and join him in forwarding real Church reform. Henry welcomed him with honour, made him a Knight of the Garter, and went with him to Calais in company with another foreign visitor, William, Duke of Holland, to meet Burgundy. Here a league was sealed between the five powers; but Sigismund could not patch up a peace between England and France. However, the upshot of his journey was that the Bishop of London, backed by the German clergy, got the Council of Constance to choose Martin V. as pope, in place of John and Benedict, whom they deposed, while Gregory resigned, so closing the schism for ever.

Henry went home to prepare for a second campaign, for the crown of France now seemed to be within his reach. He got ample supplies from two parliaments, whose anger was roused by the raids and piracy of the French privateers. He pawned the profits of the custom-duties to the chancellor, and his crown to the city of London for large sums; built a fleet to keep the English seas, gathered ships from the Low Countries to carry his host of 30,000 men across Channel, and hired galleys from the King of Portugal, who was his ally, because the King of Castile helped the French.

The Harfleur garrison had not been left in peace. In 1416, on a raid into the country, Dorset and his men were surrounded by the army of the new French constable, the Earl of Armagnac, who summoned them: "Now ye be so straitened, with the sea on one side and your foes on the other, ye must needs yield you or die." "It was never the wont of Englishmen to yield them when they might fight,"

answered Dorset, and his little band cut their way through the French, and reached Harfleur with scant loss. Then the constable sent for foreign ships, and beset the town by land and water. Once it was relieved by Bedford, when he sank the *Black Hulk* of Flanders, and once by Huntingdon, after sharp sea-fights. And only three days before Henry landed in 1417, Huntingdon relieved it a third time, breaking through the blockade and taking several big Genoese carracks, huge broad-built vessels which towered a spear's-length over our little 100-ton ships. On September 4, Henry stormed the town of Caen, and when the strong castle fell, September 20, he set up his head-quarters there, as Duke of Normandy. Town after town yielded, and by the middle of 1418, save Rouen, the duchy was his. As he conquered it he set to work to make needful reforms in its government. He gave the estates, earldoms, and baronies thereof to his own nobles and knights. And thus Salisbury, Talbot, Beaufort, Bedford, and Furnival, got the French earldoms of Perche, Mortain, Maine and Harcourt, Aumale, and others. He also set new officers in place of those who were greedy or oppressive; lightened the taxes; took off the salt-duty, and gave equal rights to all inhabitants, English or French. In the meantime Burgundy had been doing his best for himself on his side. He won over Isabel of Bavaria, Charles the Mad's queen, and by the consent of the townsfolk was received into Paris, where the guild-brethren of his party and the mob rose and butchered the constable and chief lords and ladies of the Armagnacs. The little dauphin, Charles's youngest son, was only saved by the faithfulness of Tanneui du Chastel, who bore him off secretly to Melun, whither the Armagnac partisans now rallied, proclaiming the dauphin Regent of France. Both sides made vain offers to Henry, who went steadily on with his task of winning the land bit by bit. Rouen garrison was 20,000 strong, and on Henry's summons, July 1418, Sir Guy le Butler, the governor, made ready for a long siege. No less than ten churches and abbeys, near the walls, were pulled down, and all trees and houses within many yards cleared away, that they might not cover the besiegers' attacks. The ditch was cleaned, deepened, dug into narrow pitfalls every two feet, and set as thick with *calthrops* [iron spikes linked so that one point will always stand upward] as meshes in a net; the walls were strengthened by earthen mounds, as broad as a cartway, thrown up against them from inside;

The Siege of
Rouen, July 30,
1418—January
16, 1419.

the five main gates, the twenty towers, and the keep were manned and armed, three cannon being mounted on each tower, and nine on each strip of wall, besides engines for beam-hurling and stone-casting. On July 30 King Henry and his army beset the place ; with him were the Dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and Exeter (for Dorset had won the honour of this dukedom by his gallantry), the earl marshal, and the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, Kyme, Mortain, and Ormond, and Janicot the Gascon captain. To prevent any help from landward, a hedge and ditch, with barriers and stout gates, were drawn round the English host that begirt the city. The river was guarded against French relief by iron chains stretched across it, and by a fleet of Portuguese galleys. So strong a place could not be stormed, and sorties were easily repulsed, so the siege settled into a blockade. By Christmas food began to fail the townsfolk, who had 200,000 souls to feed. Bran and vinegar took the place of corn and wine, and when meat and kale were gone they ate the flesh of dogs and cats and mice and rats, and dug up grass and weeds to season it. Yet the price of this wretched food rose so high that many poor died of hunger. Still the townsfolk looked for help from France or Burgundy, and rather than give in they chose to get rid of all who were too weak to serve in the defence, that the rest might have food for a few days longer. Twelve thousand starving wretches were thrust out at the gates, but Henry, angry at the sturdy faithfulness of the garrison, would not let them pass through his lines. So, though the English soldiers in pity shared their rations with them, more than half of them perished in the ditch for lack of food and shelter. On New Year's day the garrison at last begged for terms, and the parley went on for a fortnight, when Sir Guy, finding Henry's demands too hard, broke off the treaty, and proposed that the town should be fired, part of the wall suddenly thrown down, and that all who could carry arms should sally through this breach to cut their way through the English lines or die. But the townsfolk forced Sir Guy to treat again, and, by the archbishop's help, it was settled that if no succour came in eight days' space the city should be given up to Henry. The garrison were to march off unhurt, but three of the townsfolk were to suffer for their resistance, the vicar-general, the chief cannoneer, and the captain of the commons ; the town must pay a £50,000 fine, and build a new castle at their own cost within eighteen months. The old rights and

freedom of the city were to be confirmed by the king. Accordingly, on January 19, Sir Guy gave up the keys; the brave Alan Blanchard, captain of the commons, was put to death, and next day Henry, clothed in black damask, mounted on a black horse, with a squire behind him bearing a fox-brush on a spear for a banner, rode to the minster to give thanks for his victory. Of the townsfolk, one-fourth of whom had perished, an eye-witness, John Page, says—

“ Of the people, to tell the truth,
It was a sight of mickle ruth [much pity].
Much of the folk that was therein,
They were but bones and the bare skin,
With hollow eyes and face a-peak,
They scarce had strength to breathe or speak,
With colour wan as is the lead,
Not like live men, but like the dead,
Fitter models could be none
From which to paint a skeleton.
In every street were folk lying dead,
And others helpless crying for bread;
Faster they died for many a day
Than carts could carry them away.”

4 Burgundy now feared the English power, and brought about a meeting between Henry and the French king and queen at *Meulant-on-Seine*, July 1419, which however led to nothing, for the duke himself was all the while treating secretly with the dauphin, with whom, at Melun, July 11, he made an alliance against the English. But the Armagnac party had not forgiven Burgundy for Orleans' death and the butchery of Paris, so they lured him to a meeting on the bridge of Montereau, August 12, where Tannegui smote him down with an axe as he knelt to the dauphin, whose courtiers instantly killed him. This murder threw all into Henry's hands again, for the young duke, Philip the Good, at once joined the English, and did what he could to bring about an alliance with the king and queen of France against the dauphin's party. Paris followed his lead, with other French towns. On May 21, 1420, the treaty of *Troyes* was signed. By it Henry was to marry Katherine, and to be regent and heir of France (Charles keeping the royal title during his life); but France was to be ruled according to its own laws, rights, and customs, with a French council. The treaty was approved by the States-General; the marriage took place, and the murderers of Burgundy were declared traitors and outlaws. After spending the Christmas at

Treaty of
Troyes, May
21, 1420.

Paris, and holding a meeting of the Estates at Rouen, Henry came home, February 1, 1421, and held Katherine's coronation feast at Westminster, with such splendour as had never yet been seen in England.

As before, Bedford had been Lieutenant of the Realm in his brother's absence. In 1416 the Scots were called in by Oldcastle and his friends, who looked for better success, now that the "prince of priests, the Lollards' utter enemy" was away, and Albany, the Regent of Scotland, beset Berwick, but the attack was but a "foul raid," for he marched home on Bedford's approach. Oldcastle, who had come to S. Albans, to try and rouse his London friends, fled back to Wales. There, in 1418, he was surprised by the servants of the Lord of Powys. Being a strong man, he defended himself to the dismay of his assailants, till an old woman caught up a stool and broke his leg with a blow of it, when he was overpowered and brought to London to be judged in Parliament. He would not plead for his life, but declared himself King Richard's man, and said that his king was alive in Scotland. So the Commons prayed that he might be executed, and he was drawn to the gallows, December 14. Bedford stood by, and he stayed the hangman for a space, and called to the prisoner, "Oldcastle, thou art a good knight; I am sorry for thee; repent thee of thy heresy; take a priest and confess thy sins. I will give thee time." But Sir John answered, "Nay, sir, never grieve for me; I am well content. If S. Peter and S. Paul were standing by I would not confess to them, for it would not avail me." So he was hanged in iron chains, and burnt, gallows and all; but there were many who looked on him as a saint long after.

In 1419 the queen-dowager, Joan of Navarre, who had never loved Henry, and whose son had fought against him at Azincourt, was accused in Parliament of trying to take the king's life by witchcraft, and sent a prisoner to Leeds Castle in Kent.

5. Henry and his wife were making a *progress* through England, when news came of the defeat of *Beaugé*, March 22, 1421. The King of Castile had made a treaty with the dauphin, and sent out a fleet which had beaten the English squadron off Guienne, and threatened to invade England. It had gone on to Scotland, in 1420, and thence brought back some 5000 soldiers under the Earl of Buchan and Lord Stewart of Darnley. For the Scots were glad to help the French in their need, and held England as their greatest

foe. Clarence, the Lieutenant of Normandy, fell in with them in Anjou, and without waiting for his archers, who were stopped by a river for a while, rode upon them with his horsemen. But the Scots were too strong for him, and before the archers could reach the field the Earls of Kent, Lords Ros and Grey, and 1200 Englishmen had fallen, and the Earls of Somerset, Huntingdon, and 1300 surrendered, while Clarence himself had been killed in a hand-to-hand fight

Henry's third
campaign, 1421-
1422.



with Buchan. This success put heart into the French, who made Buchan Constable of France. It was needful for Henry to go back at once if he wished to complete his work. Parliament gave him money and the power to borrow more, the Bishop of Winchester lent him £14,000 more, loans were got from most of the richer lords and merchants, and the Bohun heritage was divided between the king and the co-heiress, so that his third voyage was well provided for. In order to check the Scots, he agreed with the young King James, who was still a prisoner in

England, that if he would come with him, he should be set free within three months of the end of the campaign. Earl Douglas also promised to raise a small army of Scots to serve with him for an annual pension of £200. Having the Scottish king in his camp, Henry believed that the Scots in the French service might be cajoled or frightened into going home. After landing at Calais with 4000 lancers and 24,000 archers, Henry sent his troops under Exeter against the dauphin, who was driven into Bourges, while the King of Scots beset and took Dreux. After a visit to Paris, Henry himself set about the siege of Meaux; this place had a fine *keep* called the Market, which was thought to be too strong to be stormed or battered down. It was held by a fierce Armagnac partisan, the Bastard of Vaurus, who plundered the land for miles, and hanged on a lofty elm all prisoners who would not pay the ransom he wished for, so that the Paris merchants who had lost by his forays were glad when, after nearly eight months, the Bastard was starved out, and his head cut off and fixed high on his own elm, June 5, 1422. For he and his men had mocked Henry, bringing an ass on to the ramparts and shouting, "Ane rit!" [Henri,] "Oyez le roi!" ["Listen to the king,"] when it brayed.

6. North France was now Henry's up to the Loire, and with the King and Queen of France, and his wife, who had come over with her new-born son, Henry of Windsor, to see her father and mother, he kept Whitsuntide, holding open court with great state in Paris. But all this while his health was fast failing: the doctors did not know how to cure him, and when he set out again to help Burgundy against an attack of the dauphin, he had to give up the leadership of the army to Bedford, being too weak to ride. He was borne from Corbeil to Bois Vincennes, and there he died, August 31, in the thirty-fifth year of his age,—“small time, but in that small most greatly lived this star of England!” As he lay on his deathbed he tried to provide for the future. He prayed his brothers not to quarrel, and warned them never to fall out with Burgundy, never to make peace with the dauphin, save to get Normandy in full sovereignty, and never to let Orleans, Eu, and Gaucourt, be ransomed as long as the young king was under age. He bade them offer the regency of France to Burgundy, and if he refused Bedford was to take the office, while Gloucester was Regent of England, and Exeter governor and warden of the little king. When his last hour was nigh he busied himself with prayer, and had the seven psalms sung over

him, and when they came to the 2d verse of the 147th Psalm, he said, "Good Lord, Thou knowest that my mind was to build up the walls of Jerusalem!" and spake no more.

Henry's death
and character.

"Henry was tall and strong, spare of flesh by reason of his sober diet and daily exercise," and so swift of foot that he is said to have once run down a hart in a park. His head was round, with broad brows, small ears, cleft chin, and long neck. His eyes and hair were brown, his colour fresh and ruddy, his teeth very white and even. His look was grave and cold, but his smile made his expression pleasing. His manners were courteous, his speech brief, straightforward, and sharp. His mind was well trained, for though he took much pleasure in hunting, hawking, and feats of arms, he loved his book, and delighted in fair buildings and good art-work. From the day that he was crowned he showed himself a man devout towards God, and just towards men, neither leaning to mercy nor cruelty. He was slow to promise, but steadfast to his word. He worked hard, and was careless of his own comfort or ease, though he paid great heed to the well-being of his soldiers and servants, requiring in return that they should obey him to the letter. After his first great victory abroad, he seems to have believed that he was chosen by God to punish the sins of the French court and nobles, and to reform and raise the land of France, which God had given him as his lawful heritage; and he acted strictly on this view, looking on those who resisted him as evil-doers and enemies of God. Had he lived to have won France as was most likely, he wished to head a great crusade from his three kingdoms to drive out the Turk, crush the Mohammedan Power, and retake the Holy City. Henry was held in awe and love by most Englishmen of his day for his justice, bravery, and success. He came to the throne peaceably, unstained by the treachery and murder that darkened his father's rule, and he died before any ill-hap had touched him. So that, in the next generation, he was looked back to as a saint, and two centuries after was still "of all that time who lived the king of most renown," the chosen hero of our greatest poet. But the fruit of his great deeds were a bitter harvest, and it is truly said of them—

"Glory is like a circle on the water
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,
Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought.
With Henry's death the English circle ends,
Dispersed are the glories it included."

CHAPTER III.

Henry VI. of Windsor, 1422-1461 and 1471.

1. As soon as might be, Parliament was called to settle the ruling of the kingdom while the king was yet a child. John, Duke of Bedford, Henry V.'s eldest brother, was named Protector of the Realm and Church, and Chief Counsellor, and when he was out of England, his brother, Humfrey, was to take his place. A privy council of the Dukes of Gloucester and Exeter, with five bishops, five earls, and five barons, were to help and advise the Protector. The Duke of Exeter and his brother the Bishop of Winchester had the care of the baby king. The war was pushed on in France, for when Charles VI. died within a few days of Henry V., the Armagnacs had set up the dauphin, Charles VII., as their king at Poitiers. Bedford, a shrewd and hard-working ruler, persuaded John VI., Duke of Brittany, to come with him to *Arras* and make friends with Philip of Burgundy, who gave each of the dukes one of his sisters in marriage, and promised hearty aid against Charles. In July the English and Burgundians under Salisbury beat the French and Scots at *Crévant*, through the cowardice of the French leaders. But Charles's generals overcame the Burgundians at *la Buissière*, and the English at *la Gravelle*, which mightily encouraged his partisans. Moreover, he sent for troops from Italy, and got 5000 men from Scotland, for which he gave the Earl of Douglas, their captain, his own dukedom of Touraine. To stop more help from Scotland to their foes, the English council thought it best to send King James home again, upon his marrying Joan Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and making peace for some years with England. As soon as James reached Scotland he had the Scottish regent and his two sons slain as traitors, and busied himself eagerly with making good law and good peace for his people, for he had learned much of law, statecraft, and government at the English court. But ere long Bedford got rid of the Scots in France by a victory at *Verneuil*, Aug. 16, 1424. The Scots and French, eager to attack, fell on disorderly and were beaten, and their leader Douglas, who had mocked Bedford as "Duke John with the leaden sword," was slain, with nearly all his Scots and great part of the French.

Bedford's success in France, 1422-1424.

2. And now Salisbury and Bedford would have discomfited the French wholly by Burgundy's help, had it not been for the folly of Gloucester. For first he married Jacqueline, the Duchess of Holland, and went over sea with her to win back her heritage from the Duke of Burgundy, who laid claims to it. He spent much money to little end, and was soon forced to come home again, leaving his wife and her money in Mons; and the townsfolk gave her up to Burgundy, who sent her prisoner to Ghent, whence she escaped to Holland. Gloucester sent Lord Fitzwalter to help her, but he was driven to sea again at *Brewers' Haven* by the Burgundians, and after that he was glad to let the matter drop. Pope Martin judged the marriage to be void, and so Jacqueline made terms with Burgundy and married again, and Gloucester took to wife Elinor of Cobham, one of Jacqueline's ladies. But Humfrey's action had so angered the Duke of Burgundy that he challenged him to a duel, and was hardly withheld from joining the French, though Bedford gave him two rich earldoms in north France to appease him. And now that Gloucester was back in England, he fell out with his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who had been the friend of Henry V., and was the best statesman in the council. Humfrey was handsome and fair-spoken, and the Londoners liked him; so when he forbade the mayor to let the bishop pass through the city to the Tower the gates were shut. "And between 9 and 10 of the clock there came certain men of the bishop's and drew the chains out of the staples at the bridge-end on the Southwark side, both knights and squires, with a great company of archers, and they embattled themselves and guarded windows and peep-holes as though it had been in a land of war. And when the people of the city heard thereof, they made haste to the bridge-gates to keep the city and save it against the king's enemies, and all the shops in London were shut within an hour. And then came my lord of Canterbury and the Prince of Portugal (the king's cousin, now visiting England) and parleyed between the duke and the bishop, riding eight times between them that day. And in the end, by good persuasion of the mayor and aldermen, all the people were pacified and sent home again, and none harm done throughout all the city." But the bishop wrote at once to beg Bedford to come home, "for if ye tarry long, we shall put this land in jeopardy with a field [to the hazard of a battle]. Such a

Gloucester's
quarrels with
Burgundy and
the Cardinal,
1424-1427.

brother ye have here : God make him a good man !” Bedford hurried to England, and a parliament was called at Leicester, 25th March 1425, “when it was cried through the town that all men should leave their weapon, that is, their guns and bucklers, bows and arrows, in their inns ; and the people took great bats [cudgels] in their hands, and so they went. The next day they were charged that they should leave their bats at their inns, and then they took great staves in their bosoms and sleeves ; and so they went to the *Parliament of Bats*.” Gloucester charged his uncle with trying to kill him, and with plotting against Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. But Beaufort swore that he had never wronged either of the kings, or purposed any evil against his nephew. So, by persuasion of Bedford and the Lords, they shook hands. Bedford and his brother also swore that they would be counselled and ruled in their office of regent and protector by the Lords in parliament or in council, for Gloucester had boasted that he would rule as he liked as soon as his brother had left.

3. In 1427 Beaufort and Bedford left England together for Rouen, where Beaufort was to receive the cardinal’s hat Pope Martin had sent him, and where he was also made legate and captain of a crusade which was on foot against the Bohemians. For they followed the teachings of Wyclif and Hus his disciple, and had taken up arms against the bishops and nobles who would have forced them to obey the Church. And at this time it seemed to Beaufort that

Bedford’s wise
rule in France
and the dauphin’s
despair, 1427,
1429.

he could do more good by busying himself with the good of the Church than with the English government. Bedford found matters going well for him in France. He soon forced the Duke of Brittany to leave the dauphin and hold to his oath at Troyes, and bit by bit, so good was his rule, that the French chose rather to make terms with him for the sake of being able to till the ground and trade in peace. For he put down the brigands that roamed about disguised as English soldiers, robbing and murdering the people ; he struck good money, lightened the taxes, fostered the trades and crafts of the towns, and made many good laws to secure the health and safety of the king’s French lieges [subjects]. But Bedford’s council in France wished to bring the war to a speedy end by taking Orleans, the strongest city the Armagnacs held, and then crossing the Loire to hunt the dauphin out of the land. Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury and Perche, therefore attacked

Orleans, stormed the Tournelles, a fort which stood at the end of the bridge before the city, and beset the whole place with batteries and works, for it was too well garrisoned to be stormed. But on the 27th October 1428, as the earl stood at a window of the Tournelles looking over the city, he was struck down and wounded to death by the splinter of a cannon ball that struck the window; and this was held to be a great loss to the English. But the regent sent the Earl of Suffolk to go on with the siege, and he closed all the approaches to Orleans by land or water with thirteen strong forts, so that the city was hard put to it. On February 12, 1429, as Sir John Fastolf was bringing a long train of wagons laden with flour and herrings for the besiegers' food, he was attacked at *Rouvray* by the Earl of Clermont and Sir John Stewart; but he drew up his wagons in a ring and set his archers to guard the entries, and they drove off the French, who tried to break in, till they withdrew hopeless of success. And Fastolf got all his wagons safely into the English camp. The citizens were now nearly in despair; they could get no supplies, and their stores were running low. They therefore offered to give up their town to Burgundy to hold as long as their own duke was a prisoner in England. But Bedford (much to Burgundy's displeasure) refused to let go a prize which English blood had bought, and waited till the city should be starved into surrender. The dauphin saw no means of relieving it, and had almost made up his mind to leave France altogether for a time, when help came from a quarter whence no man had expected it.

4. "In the year 1429 there was a young girl living in a village called Domp-remy, the daughter of James Darc and Isobel his wife—a mere country maid, that was wont sometimes to keep the cattle, and, when she was not herding them, would be sewing or spinning. She was seventeen or eighteen years old, well limbed and strong. And one day, without taking leave of her father or mother (not that she did not hold them in honour and respect, but because she did not tell them lest they might hinder her intent), this maid went to Vaucouleurs to my lord Robert of Baudricourt, a knight of the dauphin's, and said to him, 'My lord captain, know that, for some time back, at divers times God hath made known to me and commanded me to go to the gentle dauphin, who should be and is the true King of France, that he may give me men-at-arms, whereby I may

Joan Darc saves
France from the
English, 1429.

raise the siege of Orleans, take him to be anointed at Rheims, win back Paris, and drive the English from the realm.' But my lord Robert took these things to be dreams. Nevertheless, at last he hearkened to her words, furnished her with a man's gown and hood, skirt, hose, and riding-boots with spurs, and gave her in charge of two gentlemen who took her to the dauphin. To him she gave her message, and at first he would not believe her; but in the end, by the advice of his council and of the clergy, he agreed to send her with a train of provisions that he hoped to be able to get secretly into Orleans. She was therefore given armour like a knight's, and she sent for a certain sword that was laid up in a church hard by, and had a white banner made, upon which was the image of the Lord and two angels, and so set forth with a small company." And as she lay at Blois, on her way towards Orleans, she wrote a letter which she sent to the English captains that were keeping the siege before Orleans, saying—

"King of England, do right to the King of Heaven, respecting the blood-royal of France. Give back to the Maid the keys of all the towns which you have broken into. The Maid is come by God's order to call back the blood-royal of France, and she is all ready to make peace if you will do right. King of England, if you do not this thing, I am captain of war, and from every place in which I shall reach your folk in France, if they will not obey, I shall make them go forth whether they will or no; and if they will obey me I will take them to mercy [give them quarter]. And all of you, archers, noble and gentle companions in arms that are before Orleans,—begone into your own land for God's sake, and if ye do not so, beware of the Maid, and bethink you of your hurt. Neither believe within you that ye can withhold France from the King of Heaven, the Son of the blessed Mary, for King Charles shall have it, the true heir, to whom God hath given it, and he shall enter into Paris with a fair company. And if ye put no faith in the tidings of God and the Maid, wheresoever we shall find you we shall fall upon you with blows; and we shall see who hath the better right, God or you."

But the English laughed at her threats, and swore to burn her as a witch if they could catch her. Yet they did not try to stop the army that was with her from coming into the town; and when the townsfolk heard that she was nigh, they begged her to come in, and when she was come in, welcomed her with great joy. "And before she came two hundred English would drive five hundred Frenchmen before them in a bicker, but after her coming two hundred Frenchmen would drive four hundred English before them; and the courage of the Frenchmen increased mightily." So that, being strengthened by fresh troops and fresh stores,

on the 3d and 4th of May, for the English were no longer able to blockade the city, they began to assault the English works, and on the 4th and 6th took two of the English forts under Joan's leadership. On the 7th, against the French captain's counsel, the Maid attacked the big Bulwark and the Round Towers. They fought all day, and Joan was wounded through the shoulder by a cross-bow bolt. When evening came the captain wanted to withdraw for the night, but Joan bade them fall to again, and called for her horse and mounted it, and went aside to a quiet place and prayed, and was soon back again. Then she alighted and took her standard and went forward, saying to a gentleman by her side, "Take heed when the float of my banner shall touch the Bulwark!" And soon he cried, "Joan, the float toucheth." And then she said to her men, "All is yours, enter in!" And the French pressed on, fired the Towers, and stormed the Bulwark; and there were drowned in the ditch, trying to escape, the captain, Glasdale, and two English lords with most of their men. And that night the English raised the siege of Orleans and departed to Maine, leaving their big guns and much victual behind them. And the news disheartened the English, who thought that Joan must really be a witch; but it put fresh hopes into the Frenchmen, who believed that she was sent from God to free France. Without delay Joan rode to Tours, and begged the dauphin to make ready to be crowned at Rheims, where it had been the wont of French kings to be hallowed. And by her bravery the way thither was soon cleared. *Jargeau* fell in a week, when Suffolk and his brother were made prisoners. *Meun* was taken next, Lord Talbot and Sir John Fastolf retreating before her. And in June the dauphin reached Rheims (*Troyes* yielding to him on the way thither), and was crowned there, to the joy of all the French. And now Joan persuaded the king to march upon Paris, promising him success. On the way thither Bedford met them, but he did not offer battle, because he was hurrying to Normandy to drive out the Constable of France, who had attacked it while he was away. So the way lay open, town after town welcomed Charles; but he was half-hearted, and when the first attack on Paris failed he withdrew like a coward to Bourges in spite of all Joan's prayers. Then she hung up her arms in the Church of S. Denis, and begged leave to go home to her father and mother and keep their sheep and cattle, and do as she was wont to do afore-

time. But Charles would not let her go, and gave her a pension, and made herself and her kinsmen nobles. And in spite of her wishes she was sent to raise the siege of Compiègne, but there she was wounded and taken, through the flight of her followers, by a Burgundian knight. The English bought her from their allies, and had her tried by the Bishop of Beauvais for witchcraft. She was found guilty, forced to sign a paper confessing her guilt, made to swear that she would never again wear men's clothes, and condemned to prison for her life. But her jailers tricked her into breaking her vow, and on May 30, 1431, she was led out to the market-place of Rouen to be burned alive as an obstinate misbeliever. In her last words out of the fire she testified to the truth of her visions, declaring that God had sent her. And upon the English that stood by great fear fell. "We are undone," they said, "for this woman whom we have put to death was a saint indeed!" It was, indeed, the example of Joan that overthrew the English rule, for all over France people now looked forward to the sure defeat of their conquerors, and plots and risings in Normandy and north France seconded the raids and attacks of Charles's captains.

5. The English were not idle, however. Beaufort, who had now come home from an unsuccessful campaign in Bohemia, generously lent the regent the money and troops which he had raised for a second crusade there. The young king, having been crowned at Westminster, was taken over to France, to be hallowed there also, and as Rheims was in Charles's hand, his coronation took place with great state in Paris. Burgundy was kept from joining the French by the gift of the regency of France, Bedford contenting himself with the regency of Normandy. The French were beaten in repeated skirmishes, and the plots in Normandy speedily put down. But all was in vain; slowly, bit by bit, France was slipping from the regent's hands. In 1432 the death of the "good Duchess Anne," Burgundy's sister, and Bedford's speedy remarriage to the Earl of S. Paul's sister Jacqueline, brought on an open quarrel between the dukes at *S. Omer*. In 1433 Bedford went home to England, where his help was needed. The people were not pleased with the government. A Lollard leader, named Jack Sharp, had tried to rouse the country folks against the bishops and beneficed clergy, but had been put down and executed by Gloucester. Money was needed to carry on

Bedford's difficulties at home and abroad till his death, 1429-1435.

the war, and Gloucester, accusing Beaufort's friends of mismanagement, turned them out of office, and put in a new treasurer. He also charged the cardinal with unlawfully accepting the hat and retaining the see of Winchester. But the Parliament, pleased with Beaufort's generous loans of money to the king, declared him to have acted lawfully. Bedford set the two again at peace, gave up great part of his salary, and got grants to pay off the royal debts. So well did he rule as Chief Counsellor of the Realm (for the name of Regent was dropped in 1429), that the Parliament, dreading the enmity between Humfrey and his uncle, besought him to abide in England. However, on Gloucester attacking his conduct of the war abroad, he decided to leave once more. In 1435 he met Burgundy at Paris, and agreed to send Beaufort to a congress at *Arras*, which Pope Gregory IV. had brought about with a view of putting an end to the war between England and France. The only result was that Burgundy was sent over by his French brothers-in-law, Bourbon and the Constable of France, to make peace with King Charles. Overwork, disappointment at the overthrow of all his plans, and despair at the future, had broken Bedford's health, and, after a short illness, he died at Rouen, before the congress ended. With him the English chance of completely winning the French kingdom was altogether lost.

6. The English were angry at Philip's desertion, and taunted him as a traitor and forsworn, and when he laid siege to Calais, Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Mortain, beat him off with ease. Gloucester was made Earl of Flanders and Captain of Calais, and the war was pushed on briskly for a time. But as one regent after another, the Duke of York, the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Somerset, found it hard to hold their own against the French, the cardinal and the Beauforts made a truce with Burgundy in 1434, and began to think of making terms with Charles. On the other hand, Gloucester threw the whole blame of their ill success upon their bad management. And when Orleans was set free in 1440 as a first step to bring about a peace, he wrote a bitter protest, accusing the cardinal of using his power for his own selfish ends, of taking lands and money from the king by fraud, and of risking the loss of France by letting Orleans out of prison. The council answered that the king had let his prisoner free because he wished him to procure a treaty, and save both lands from

The Cardinal brings about peace and the King's marriage against Gloucester's wish, 1435-1447.

bloodshed and taxation, and because it was unjust to deny a prisoner ransom for ever. Next year Gloucester was attacked in the person of his wife Elinor, who was accused of practising witchcraft against the king's life, tried, and condemned to prison for life, while two of her fellow-plotters were put to death. But the people were sorry for her, and watched her with tears and pity as she walked in her penance, black-clad and barefoot, through the London streets, before she was sent to her prison.

Meanwhile the ministry were trying to bring about a peace by way of a marriage between the young king and a French princess. Gloucester wished that Henry should marry the Earl of Armagnac's daughter, and so strengthen himself in Guienne. But Suffolk and Orleans met at *Tours* in 1444, and arranged for a truce between the two kingdoms, and for the marriage of Henry to a favourite cousin of Charles—Margaret, daughter to Regnier, the Earl of Provence, Duke of Anjou and Maine, and King (in title only) of Naples and Jerusalem. Suffolk was so eager for peace that he not only agreed for the lady to come to her husband portionless, but promised that Anjou and Maine should be given up to Regnier. Some said he was tricked into this promise by the French having seized Margaret before she could reach England, but more thought that Suffolk was acting treacherously toward the king, from hopes of future aid from France to further his own crafty schemes. On April 22, 1445, the marriage took place, and now Suffolk and Beaufort, by the young queen's favour, ruled as they liked. The queen was jealous of Gloucester, because he had opposed her marriage, and because he was the next heir to the crown if her husband died childless. And Suffolk was about to marry the little Lady Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, to his own son, so that it was thought he would try to make him the next king, rather than let Gloucester rule, if anything should happen to King Henry. Gloucester, on his side, never ceased to oppose the plans of Beaufort and Suffolk, and bitter hate was kept up between his party and the government. In February 1447 a Parliament was called at Bury, to find money for the king to visit France and make a settled peace. But as Gloucester rode thither he found all the roads guarded as though he were an enemy. And when he reached his lodgings he was arrested, and kept in close custody till, on the morning of February 23, he was found dead in his bed, murdered, as most men believed, by the

order of Suffolk, who declared that he had been plotting to make himself king. A few weeks after his turbulent nephew's sudden end, the cardinal Henry died, full of years, at Winchester. And in him the king lost his last honest friend. For proud, impatient, and fond of power as he was, the cardinal had never spared his time or money in his kinsman's service, and had always advised him to the best of his knowledge. Yet his government had not brought peace, and worse was to follow.

7. Henry's gentle mind, weak health, and retired habits unfitted and indisposed him to govern by himself, and his power was intrusted to the hands of Suffolk, Somerset, and the queen, who were all three headstrong, selfish, and unpopular. Their blunders and bad luck soon roused against them a strong party, headed by the Lords of York and Salisbury, and upheld by all who suffered by the faults or misfortunes of the ministers. Plague and bad weather and famine wrought some misery at this time, and this was heightened by the weak rule which suffered wrongs and crimes to go unpunished and unatoned. Risings in arms, under Bluebeard and other popular leaders, were indeed put down harshly, but nothing was done to amend matters, or carry the law out fairly against all evil-doers. Traders and merchants grumbled at the piracy which was suffered unchecked to waste the English coast and sweep the Channel. The over-kindness of the king and the greed of the courtiers soon led to new debts, and wasted money now sorely needed for the war. For Suffolk, trusting in the boasted skill of Somerset, the Lieutenant of France, had suffered the truce to be broken, hoping, perhaps, that a victory might bring him nearer to a final peace with Charles. But the French veterans and their powerful cannon took town after town, in spite of Somerset's struggles. In 1448 Rouen surrendered; in the next spring Bayeux, Caen, Falaise fell one by one, and on 12th August Cherbourg yielded, and the mainland of Normandy was once more a French duchy.

In the Parliament of 1450 Suffolk was impeached by the Commons for high treason in betraying the king's interests to the French king, for plotting to make his own son, John de la Pole, king, and for misusing his power as minister to injure the guiltless. The duke protested his innocence, but offered to submit to the king's will. Henry set aside the charges, but to please the Commons and save his favourite's life, banished him from England for five years. But his enemies were

Suffolk's bad
rule and fall,
1448-1450.

determined that the hated "Jack-a-napes," as he was called by the people, should not go free. His friend, the Bishop of Chichester, had been murdered by the sailors at Portsmouth in January; and now, as the duke sailed into France one Thursday in May, there met him a ship called the *Nicholas of the Tower*, the master of which bade him come on board, and when he came hailed him as traitor. He asked the name of the ship, and when he remembered that it had been told him that he would be safe if only he could escape the Tower, his heart failed him. "And so he lay in the *Nicholas* till Saturday next following, when, in the sight of all his men, he was drawn out of the great ship into the boat, and there was an axe and a stock. And one of the lowest in the ship, an Irishman, bade him lay down his head and he should be fairly dealt with and die by a sword, and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half a dozen strokes, and took away his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed [studded], and laid his body on the sands of Dover and his head on a pole by it." Thus began sorrow upon sorrow and death for death.

8. And after that the commons arose in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and chose them a captain—one Cade, a soldier, a handsome and gifted man, who called himself John Mortimer, the Duke of York's cousin. "The which captain compelled all the gentles [gentry] to arise with them: and at the end of the Parliament they came with a great might and a strong host to Blackheath beside Greenwich, to the number of 46,000 men; and there they made a field [camp], diked and staked about as it were in land of war, save only that they kept no order among them for as good was Jack Robin as John-at-noke, for all were as high as pigs' feet."

The Commons
rise under Cade
against the bad
ministry, 1450.

They complained (1) that Henry had threatened to lay waste Kent in revenge for the death of Suffolk, "that was as false as Vortigern;" (2) that the taxation was too heavy; (3) that the king's servants had governed ill, and that "the law serveth of nought else but for to do wrong;" (4) that France was lost by their treachery, and (5) that the counties were grievously oppressed by unjust tolls and fees. They asked (1) that these abuses in the counties should be righted; (2) that the king should take back the royal estates he had granted to unworthy persons without good cause; (3) that the friends of Suffolk should be banished from England and be called to answer for the deaths of Gloucester, Beaufort, and the Earl of Warwick (who had died suddenly when Lieutenant in France, 1445, of overwork), and also for the loss of France; (4) that the Duke of York should be called to power, and (5) that Duke Humfrey should be acknowledged to have died guiltless.

Henry marched upon Blackheath with 20,000 men, when

Cade fell back to *Sevenoaks*, but there he defeated the royal force sent against him, and Henry, finding his soldiers would not oppose the commons, withdrew to *Kenilworth*. On July 3 Cade entered London with all his people, "and there had it cried in the king's name and his that no man should rob nor take no man's goods but if he paid for it. And he came riding through the city in great pride, and smote his sword upon London stone. And he had Lord Say the treasurer, and his son-in-law the Sheriff of Kent, tried before the mayor and aldermen, and then took them and beheaded them in the streets, and set Lord Say's head on a spear and bare it about the city. And afterward the captain rifled the houses of two citizens he thought traitors; and for this the hearts of the citizens fell from him, and every thrifty man was afraid to be served in like wise; for there was many a man in London that awaited and would fain [gladly] have seen a common robbery." And the aldermen sent to Lord Scales, the keeper of the Tower, and prayed him to help them drive out the captain and his host. So the soldiers seized London Bridge by night and held it against the commons, who lay at Southwark. When they had fought all night, the chancellor, Cardinal Kemp, and the Bishop of Winchester, crossed the river and met Cade in Southwark church, where they gave him pardons for himself and his army. Most of the Kentish men at once made off home with their booty. Cade, having in vain tried to rally them together at Rochester, fled to Sussex, where he was followed by Iden, the new Sheriff of Kent, and taken and slain in a garden at Heyfield. Many of his followers were also slain, and their heads set with his on London Bridge.

9. The Dukes of York and Somerset now hurried to England. The king at once made the latter Constable, though his defeat and loss of Normandy had got him into such dislike that he was nearly murdered by the mob, while York who had ruled Ireland wisely and well, was charged with high treason. However, when Parliament met, Thomas Yonge, member for Bristol, proposed that York should be declared heir to the crown, for which speech he was put in jail. That same winter the selfish laziness of Somerset led to the loss of Guienne, and Bordeaux and Bayonne fell in the summer of 1451. Even Calais, the last English town in France, was in peril, when, in 1452, York, declaring his loyalty to the king, raised forces in the west, and marched to London to overthrow Somerset,

The loss of
France, 1450-
1453.

whom he charged with all the crimes of Suffolk and the loss of Normandy to boot. But partly by promises, partly by treachery, York was persuaded to disband his men and promise to seek remedy by lawful means in the future. Still Somerset, who had urged the king to force York to confess his treason by imprisoning and torturing him, remained minister. However, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, was sent with an army to win back Gascony, for the townfolk of Bordeaux had begged Henry to rescue them from French misrule. In a few weeks the veteran won back the Bordelais and the borders of Périgieux. Next spring the French besieged his garrison in *Chatillon*, and cast up a great trenched camp there lined with cannon. Talbot attacked them unawares and broke into their works, when the Earl of Penthievre brought up fresh troops, and the deadly fire of the cannon stayed the English advance. Talbot was killed, and his son fell fighting to the last over his father's body, while the rest of their little army was forced to flight or taken. Chatillon fell, and, after seven weeks' siege, Bordeaux yielded a second time to Charles. All Henry's foreign heritage was lost, save Calais and the Channel Islands.

10. On the news of Talbot's first successes Henry levied a great army by forced loans, and made ready to go over-sea himself at its head. But suddenly he fell ill (like his grandfather King Charles), so that he lost all knowledge and remembrance, and could neither walk nor raise his head, nor easily move from his seat. On October 13 a son was born to him, to the joy of the court party. But when council met, though the queen claimed the regency, Somerset was arrested and York made Protector and defender of the realm till the king should be well again or the prince of age. At Christmas, however, Henry came to himself, "and on the 30th January the queen went to him and brought my lord prince with her. And Henry asked what the prince's name was, and the queen told him *Edward*, and then he held up his hands and thanked God therefor. And he said he never knew till that time, nor wist not what was said to him, nor wist not where he had been while he had been sick till now; and she told him that the cardinal [Kemp] was dead, and he said one of the wisest lords in this land was dead; and he said he himself was in charity with all the world, and so he would all the lords were." Somerset was now set free, and soldiers called

Beginning of the
Wars of the
Roses. York in
arms against
Somerset,
1453-1459.

out to ensure the king's safety. York, and his old friends the Nevilles and Bouchiers, also gathered troops and marched to *S. Albans*, where both hosts met, 22d May 1455. York asked to speak with the king, and begged that Somerset and his friends should be given up. But Henry answered that he would live and die that day in their quarrel. The royalists held the town and had barricaded the streets, but Warwick broke through the gardens behind the houses with his archers, and in half an hour Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford were slain, and their followers in flight, leaving the king in the hands of York. Thus ended the first battle of the *Wars of the Roses*, which were so called because the partisans of the House of Lancaster took a red rose as their badge, while the followers of the House of York wore a white rose for their token. Parliament met soon after in London; the duke and his friends, Salisbury and his son, Richard Earl of Warwick, were pronounced by the king good and faithful subjects, and the blame of the *mal-journey* [bad day's work] at *S. Albans* laid upon Somerset. In November 1455 Henry again went mad, and York was a second time named Protector, till the king's recovery in February relieved him of his office. The queen was now the acknowledged head of the court party—a woman of all manly qualities, sparing no pains to get and hold power, but knowing and caring little about the wishes and feelings of the English people, with whom she was never a favourite. She was in secret league with the kings of Scotland and France against York. The king, on the other hand, laboured earnestly for quiet, and when the French (under Margaret's friend, Peter of Brezé) attacked the English coast and seized Sandwich, such hatred was roused against the court party, that the queen was driven to an outward show of peace. On the 25th March 1458, the leaders of both sides went to *S. Paul's*, Margaret and the Duke of York walking hand in hand behind the king, and the rest following two and two, and there they swore to live in love, to the great joy of the Londoners. Warwick was made Captain of Calais, and he soon showed the French privateers that they could not range unchecked in English waters; but the favour the people showed him awoke rage and fear in the courtiers, and they seem to have plotted to murder him and York. All this time the country was left to misrule; there was neither good police nor good justice, but continual trespasses, extortions, riots, and breaches of law, for the court party

could not govern well and would not permit York to do so. In September 1459, Salisbury raised 5000 men in the west and marched toward Ludlow, to join York on a visit to the king at Coleshill. But the queen sent Lord Audley and a body of soldiers to arrest him. At *Bloreheath* they met, September 23, 1459, and Salisbury, refusing to obey the warrant, defeated and slew Audley, and reached Ludlow safely, where Warwick joined them with his trained troops from Calais. Henry, who was at Worcester with 60,000 men, bade them lay down their arms within six days and he would forgive them; but they refused, declaring they could not trust his evil counsellors. At *Ludford*, where the Yorkists entrenched themselves, there was a skirmish, but Sir Andrew Trollop and the Calais men would not fight against the king's standard, and went over to Henry; whereon the duke's army melted away in fear, no man trusting his neighbour. York, thus forsaken, went off to Ireland, where he had many fast friends, while Salisbury and Warwick made for Calais. Henry now called a parliament at *Coventry*, in which the court party took care that the Lower House should be filled with their followers, and brought in and carried a *bill of attainder*, judging York and his two elder sons (the Earls of March and Rutland), with Salisbury, his wife, and son, Lord Bouchier and his kinsmen, and others to death as traitors, for breaking repeated oaths of peace, and for withstanding the king in arms again and again. However, though Margaret sent to rouse the Irish, French, and Scots against them, York and his friends met at Dublin to settle how to defeat their foes, and Warwick foiled all attacks on Calais, taking his assailants' ships.

11. On the 26th June 1460, Salisbury, Warwick, and March, with the Bishop of Terni (whom Pope Pius II. had named legate to King Henry) landed at Dover, where they were joined by Archbishop Bouchier and the Kentish men.

In their proclamation to the Commons, they say they are come to speak with the king and free him from the Earls of Wiltshire and Shrewsbury, Lord Beaumont and other evil counsellors, who have hurt the Church, wrested the law, wasted the royal revenue, raised heavy taxes for their own use, obliging the king to live by purveyance; who have betrayed Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, stirred up the Irish and French against the realm, murdered Gloucester and tried to murder York and Warwick, procured bills to be passed against the king's lawful subjects, told the king that

York made heir
to the Crown,
1460.

his will is above the law, and brought about the woe of the kingdom, "whereof they be the causes, and not the king, which is himself as noble, as virtuous, as righteous, and blessed of disposition as any earthly prince."

The Londoners welcomed the earls gladly; so leaving Salisbury governor there to watch Lord Scales (who held the Tower for the king), they marched on with 60,000 men to *Northampton*. Here Henry and his council had entrenched themselves in force. After trying in vain three times to see the king, Warwick set up the royal standard, and with the legate's blessing led the attack, ordering his soldiers to spare the king and the commons, but cut down the gentry. The rain damped the king's powder, Lord Grey of Ruthyn went over with his men to Warwick, and in a few minutes Buckingham, Shrewsbury, Beaumont, Egremont, and some 300 knights were slain, the queen and little prince in flight, and the king a captive. The earls received Henry with great respect, and brought him to London with them. Warwick's brother, George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, was made chancellor, and a parliament was called. Here York appeared (the acts of Coventry being repealed), and laid claim to the throne as heir of Edward III., through Lionel of Clarence. A compromise was devised by the chancellor, which the Lords agreed to lay before the king, who, by their advice, and to spare further bloodshed, accepted it. "The king was to keep the crowns and his estates and dignity royal during his life, and the duke and his heirs to succeed him in the same;" the principedom of Wales and earldom of Chester were given to the duke with an income of 10,000 marks, and it was to be high treason to kill him.

12. Meanwhile the queen and her son, who, after many adventures both by sea and land, had reached Scotland, appeared at York with a large force of borderers eager for booty, and of north-country levies, who hated the Protector. With her were Somerset and Devon, and the northern barons Northumberland, Clifford, and Dacres. York, with Rutland and Salisbury, hastened to Sandal Castle with a small company to watch his foes, and to wait till March could bring up the western levies, and Warwick the Londoners and Kentish men. After a skirmish at *Work-sop*, York was lured into fighting at *Wake-field*, December 29, 1460, and there defeated and slain. His son, Rutland, was seized and butchered by Clifford, and Salisbury beheaded next day at Pontefract. By the queen's order,

York slain, and his son Edward made king in Henry's stead, 1461.

the duke's head, wearing a paper crown, was set up at York. So perished the wisest statesman left in England.

March, warned of this defeat, now started eastward to join Warwick at London; and Owen Tudor (who had married Henry V.'s widow, Katherine), with his son Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Wiltshire, attacked him on his way at *Mortimer's Cross*, February 3, 1461. But he turned upon them fiercely, and routed them, and taking Owen prisoner, slew him in revenge for his father, and laid his head on the highest step of the market cross at Haverfordwest. Meanwhile Margaret, with her victorious army, had marched towards London, till, on February 17th, she found her way barred by Warwick, who held *S. Albans* against her. After one repulse, for the Yorkists were strongly posted, the queen's troops drove Warwick's men through the town and cleared the road. But the Yorkists withdrew unpursued under cover of night, and with Warwick at their head turned west to meet the Earl of March. By this victory Margaret rescued her husband, who was left behind by Warwick in his retreat. Henry sent to London for supplies, and the mayor ordered that certain carts laden with victual should be sent to them to *S. Albans*. "But when the carts came to Cripplegate, the commons of the city that kept the gate took the victual from the carts, and would not suffer it to pass. Then were certain aldermen and commoners appointed to go to Barnet to speak with the queen's council, to entreat that the northern men should be sent home to their country. For the city of London did dread sore to be robbed and spoiled if they had come." But while they treated, news came that the Earls of March and Warwick had met at Chipping Norton, and were on their way to London. So the king and queen turned north lest they should be surrounded by their foes. The Londoners were glad to be saved from Margaret's border freebooters, and welcomed the young Earl of March as the "White Rose of Rouen," singing—

" He that could London forsake,
We will no more to us take."

And on the 4th March 1461, by the advice of the Lords of his party and the choice of the Commons, Edward was proclaimed king, and took the crown and sceptre of the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, to the joy of all that hoped for better government.

CHAPTER IV.

Edward IV. of Rouen, 1461-1483.

1. But there could not be two kings in England, so without delay Edward set forth to defeat his foes and avenge his father. King Henry and the queen lay at York with 60,000 men. Edward and Warwick led 50,000 against them. The vanguards fought at *Ferrybridge*, which was seized for Edward by Lord Fitzwalter, who was slain by Lord Clifford. But Lord Falconbridge came up, killed Clifford, and retook the bridge. Next day, 28th March, at nine in the morning, the two great hosts met on the moor by *Towton*. There was a thick fall of snow in the faces of the Lancastrians, and their arrows fell short of the mark; when their quivers were empty, the Yorkists drew near, poured in volley upon volley, and then charged. But the northern footmen held their ground bravely in the sword-play, and only gave way about three in the afternoon, when Norfolk brought up Edward's rearguard. Edward pressed on the pursuit without quarter, and drove his defeated foes into the river Cock, where many were drowned. All through the night the Lancastrians fled and the Yorkists pressed upon their heels, cutting them down without mercy, so that by the sunset next day they had slain more than 30,000 men; among them were the Earl of Northumberland, six barons, and Sir Andrew Trollop. But Somerset and Exeter escaped, and Henry, the queen, and the prince (who had stayed at York during the battle) fled after them to Scotland, where they were welcomed, for they gave up Berwick to the King of Scots, who at once sent an army into England to check the Yorkists and beset *Carlisle*. But Lord Montague, who had been left to guard the north while Edward went to London to be crowned, relieved Carlisle, and overthrew the Scots with great slaughter. On the 28th June Edward was crowned, and Parliament met on the 4th November. He had already given new honours to many of his truest friends. His two young brothers, George and Richard, were made Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, William Neville Lord Falconbridge was made Earl of Kent, Lord Bouchier Earl of Essex, and Humfrey Bouchier and William Herbert barons. Parliament declared Edward's title good, and the three Henries usurpers, but confirmed the Acts passed under

Towton field,
Palm Sunday
1461.

their rule, so that no man should suffer by the coming of the true king. A Bill of Attainder was passed against the late king, his wife and son, and the chief lords that had stood by them alive or dead. The young king thanked them for the tender and true hearts they had shown him with all his heart, "and if I had any better good," said he, "to reward you withal than my body, ye should have it." He did not need their money, for he had lately borrowed 120,000 florins from Cosmo dei Medici, the rich lord of Florence.

2. Henry was possibly not sorry to be rid of all the cares of the crown, but Margaret, eager to revenge her friends, and determined to win back her son's heritage, left no stone unturned in gathering strength for another attack on Edward. Scotland was at this time weakened by the struggles between the royal house and the powerful Douglas and Angus families, which had prevented the Scottish kings from taking advantage of the weakness of England during Henry VI.'s reign. And James II.'s death at the siege of Roxburgh in 1460, left his crown to a child, James III. It was in vain that Margaret gained the Earl of Angus's aid, for Edward bribed the Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, and won over the Dowager-Queen Mary, so the Scots agreed not to interfere. Margaret therefore sought help from abroad. The Duke of Brittany gave her money, and Louis XI. of France, on her promise of yielding Calais as soon as she had won back her husband's throne, lent

Margaret's attacks foiled, and King Henry taken, 1461-1463.

her 20,000 crowns, and sent Peter of Brezé with 2000 men to Scotland with her. But again she failed; her friend Oxford was tried by Roman law before the Constable Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, for corresponding with her, and beheaded. Her fleet was wrecked with all her treasure, and the most part of her foreign allies only escaped death by water to be taken prisoners on *Holy Island* in 1462. Margaret and Peter reached Berwick alone in a fisher-boat. The three strongholds which the Lancastrians had taken were retaken by Warwick. Even Somerset, Percy, and Sir Ralph Grey now gave up the Red Rose, and swore fealty to Edward. But Margaret did not despair, and in 1463 the exiles, with Scottish help, made a second attack upon the north of England, when they were joined by the faithless Somerset and his friends. But John Neville overcame them at *Hedgley*, April 15, where Percy fell "fighting like a man," and at *Hexham*, May 15, where Somerset was taken and beheaded, while Warwick battered Bamborough Castle

with his two iron guns, "Newcastle" and "London," and his brass cannon "Dijon," till it yielded, when its captain, Grey, was brought to the king, judged, and put to death at Doncaster. Margaret and her son were in Flanders, and King Henry in Lancashire, where he lurked in hiding till 1466, when he was betrayed by Sir James Harrington and his friends Tempest of Branwell and Talbot of Bashall. Warwick brought him to London, and had him lodged in the Tower, where he was safely kept, and not unkindly treated.

3. Edward determined to plant himself so firmly on his throne that he should not be lightly overthrown. He sent embassies to most of the courts of Europe, made truces with Scotland and France, and treaties of peace and trade with Burgundy, Brittany, Aragon, Castille, Denmark, and Poland. He took care to reward his friends, giving John Neville the earldom of Northumberland, and George Neville the archbishopric of York, and making Lord Herbert Earl of Pembroke. But he grew restless under the constant control which Warwick sought to keep over him, and when he was desired to marry Bona, sister of Louis XI., he refused, and privately married (in 1464) a widow, Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Jacquette of Luxembourg and her second husband, the "handsome Woodville" Lord Rivers. The new queen was crowned, May 26, 1465, amid great rejoicings. And as Edward could trust her kinsfolk to stand by him, he resolved to enrich them, so that he might have partisans of his own, who should not owe anything to the Nevilles or Bouchiers. Accordingly Lord Rivers was made Treasurer, the queen's sisters married to the Duke of Buckingham and the heirs of Arundel and Pembroke, her elder brother to the heiress of Scales, her younger brother to the Dowager-Duchess of Norfolk, and her son, Thomas Grey, to the king's niece, the heiress of Exeter. Warwick looked with displeasure on the favour shown to these "upstarts," but he grew angry when Edward gave his own sister Margaret in marriage to Charles, Earl of Charolois, Burgundy's son, a man with whom he was at deadly feud. And in spite of a reconciliation (brought about by George Neville), he began to cast about for means of regaining his power. Clarence, jealous of his brother, and eager for a crown, easily fell in with the kingmaker's plans, and in July 1469 married his elder daughter Isabel, at Calais. Margaret and her party

Edward marries,
and quarrels with
Warwick and
Clarence, 1464-
1470.

in the north began again to raise their heads, and as Edward disgusted some men by his favour to the Woodvilles, and others by his strict justice and the stern way in which he punished any one who broke the law, she found here and there those who for their own ends were ready to stir up civil war again. Early in 1469 the Yorkshire commons rose under Robert Hulyard, calling himself *Robin of Redesdale*, and complaining of the tithes. But Montague put them down, and killed their leader. But another leader, Sir William Conyers, a Lancastrian, took his name, and with Clarence's approval and Warwick's knowledge raised a great host, and published *articles* complaining of the king's bad counsellors, the Woodvilles. July 26, the king's Welsh troops were beaten at *Edgecote*, and the Earls of Pembroke, Devon, and Rivers were afterwards taken and beheaded by Clarence's orders. Edward saw nothing better than give himself up to George Neville, by whose advice and his mother's, the Duchess of York, he was reconciled with Warwick and Clarence, who were afraid of going too far, for Edward was very well liked by the people of London and by the merchants and farmers, who were glad of the good peace and stern justice he kept. In 1470, however, Sir Robert Welles put himself at the head of a rising in Lincolnshire by secret orders from Clarence and Warwick. Edward, now knowing the danger of such movements, at once, by quick marching, came up with the rebels, and set upon them near Stamford, March 29. The fire of his cannon put them to flight, and the day was remembered as *Lose-coat field*, from the white gaberlines the rebels threw off in their hurry to get away. Welles was taken, and confessed that there was a plot to make Clarence king. Edward therefore wrote to Clarence and Warwick to urge them to come back to their duty, and on their delay proclaimed them traitors. They fled to France, where Louis welcomed them warmly, and, at *Amboise*, by his persuasion Warwick was brought to offer Queen Margaret (who was with her son at Louis' court) his help to put her captive husband back on his throne. Margaret hung back at first, but at last agreed that her son Edward should marry Warwick's second daughter Anne, and that Clarence and Warwick should be Lieutenants of the Realm till the prince was of age. Clarence, though he put a fair face on it, did not like this new plan of Warwick's, and began to write secret messages to King Edward, telling him that he was only waiting for a fit time to show his loyalty to him.

4. Edward paid little heed at first to the treaty of Amboise, though Charles, his brother-in-law (now Duke of Burgundy), who hated Warwick, not only warned him of his danger, but blockaded the Seine mouth for him. Profiting by a gale, which drove off the Flemish fleet, Warwick and Clarence slipped past them, and landed at Dartmouth September 13, 1470. The queen and her son, with his young wife, were to follow when all was at peace again. King Edward was lured to the north to meet John Neville (whom he had made Marquis Montague, and whom he trusted entirely), leaving his queen in the Tower. And as he lay in bed at Doncaster one morning, there came to him Alexander of Carlisle, the chief of his minstrels, and Alexander Lee, a priest, and bade him rise and flee, for Montague was within an hour's ride seeking to take him prisoner. He flung on his clothes, and moneyless and with no armour but a light brigandine [studded coat], he rode down to Lynn with Hastings, Rivers, and a few friends.

Warwick de-
thrones Edward,
and sets up King
Henry again,
1470-1471.

There they embarked in three small ships, and set sail for Holland. After being nearly taken by some ships of the Hanse Towns, who chased them ashore at Alcmaar, they were kindly received by Louis of Bruges, Earl of Grauthus, and taken to Duke Charles's court. Queen Elizabeth fled to Westminster with her daughters. Clarence and Warwick, finding none to say them nay, went to London, took King Henry out of prison, and setting him on horseback, in a long gown of blue velvet, led him to S. Paul's, while all cried, "God save King Harry!" And the lords that had been disinherited, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and his nephew Henry Earl of Richmond, and the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, came back to their estates. But the Earl of Worcester, John Tiptoft, the most learned and best-read noble in England, was taken and beheaded, because, when he was constable under King Edward, he had judged men to death by the law of Padua [Roman law]. The Parliament declared Edward a usurper, and confirmed the agreement made between Warwick and Margaret at Amboise. Louis of France made a treaty with Henry for fifteen years. But Burgundy, though he did not dare openly to make war for his brother-in-law Edward, gave him both money, men, and ships, and counselled him to go to England and see if he could win back his crown either by fair words or war.

5. So with 900 Englishmen and 300 Flemings with hand-

guns, Edward took shipping from Flushing, and landed at Ravenspur, March 1471. Like Henry IV. before, he declared that he was only come to claim his own lands, and even swore to this at York, before he turned southward. Montague let him pass without drawing sword, Stanley joined him at Nottingham, and Clarence at Coventry. Warwick, who was near his road, refused to fight him or to make

Edward wins
back his crown,
and King Henry
dies, 1471.

peace. So raising his standard as king he pushed on to London, when George, the Archbishop of York, opened the gates to him. He entered, made King Henry prisoner again, and taking him with him, marched out to *Barnet*, where Warwick and Montague were in battle array. Clarence offered to make peace between them, but Warwick was too angry with his double faithlessness to listen to him. "And all that night both sides loosed guns at each other, and on Easter Day early next morning, April 14, they fell upon each other; and there was such a great mist that neither side could see the other clearly. And divers times the earl's party had the victory, and supposed that they had won the field. But it happened that the Earl of Oxford's men had upon them their lord's livery, which was a star with streams [rays] much like King Edward's livery—a sun with streams [rays]. And the mist was so thick that a man might not perfectly judge one thing from another. So Warwick's men shot and fought against Oxford's men, thinking that they were King Edward's men, and soon the Earl of Oxford and his men cried, 'Treason! treason!' and fled away from the field 800 men. But the Marquis Montague was agreed to come over to King Edward, and he put upon him King Edward's livery in the midst of the battle; and a man of the Earl of Warwick saw that, and fell upon him and killed him. And when the Earl of Warwick saw his brother dead, and Oxford fled, he leaped on horseback and fled to a wood by the field of Barnet which there was no way out of. And one of King Edward's men espied him, and came upon him there and killed him, and spoiled him of his armour and clothes." And when King Edward knew that he had won the day he took horse and rode through the field crying to his men to spare the commons, but kill all the nobles and gentry. And he was more sorry for the death of his friend Montague than he was glad for the death of his foe Warwick, and had them both buried in state at Bisham priory.

The very day of this victory Queen Margaret and her son

landed in the west, where they soon heard the news that Warwick the "Kingmaker" was dead and King Henry a prisoner again. Yet many men gathered to her out of the west and South Wales, and with Somerset, Devon, and other lords, she halted and stood at bay at *Tewkesbury*, May 4, where King Edward came up with her, and a battle was fought. The Lancastrians were drawn up "in a right evil place to approach as could well have been devised." But Edward had the better archers and gunners, and his brother Gloucester broke the Lancastrian line. Somerset made a bold attack on the Yorkist flank, but was himself set on from behind, whereat, believing that Lord Wenlock had betrayed his plans, he struck him dead with his mace and rode angrily out of the battle. The Lancastrians having no good leader to rally them now turned in flight. The young prince was taken as he fled, and, though he cried to his brother-in-law Clarence for quarter, the servants of King Edward and Gloucester stabbed him to death before their eyes. Many Lancastrian nobles were killed in the battle or beheaded afterwards, and Queen Margaret herself was made prisoner.

Before Edward could get back to London, Thomas, son of Neville Lord Falconbridge, with 300 soldiers from Calais and the levy of Kent, marched to London to deliver King Henry. "But Lord Scales, keeper of the Tower, and the mayor, shut the gates against them, whereon Falconbridge shot his cannon into the city, and fired Aldgate and Bishops-gate. At which the commons were sore wroth and greatly moved against him, for if he had not burned the gates they would have let him in, spite of Lord Scales and the mayor. And when he found he could not enter by force, he turned past the city and crossed the river at Kingston with 20,000 men, meaning to fight King Edward on his way to London. But Scales went to him and promised him and Farmer, the Mayor of Canterbury, that was with him, great things if they would turn homewards. And forasmuch as fair words and promises make fools fain [glad], Falconbridge brought his men back to Blackheath, and then stole from them by night with his soldiers to their fleet that lay at Sandwich. And when the Kentishmen perceived that their captain was gone, they departed every man to his own home." So King Edward reached London safely, 21st May.

And that night King Henry died in the Tower, slain, as it was believed, by the Duke of Gloucester. His body, after

lying in state in S. Paul's, was taken by boat to Chertsey, and there buried. King Henry's life had been so sorrowful, and he himself had been so innocent of the wrongdoing that had brought civil war on in England, that many men held him for a martyr. He was a merciful man, pitiful even to dumb beasts, long-suffering, mild of speech, and patient in his troubles, pure and pious in his life, ever grieving over the sin and sorrow he could not stop. For, while he himself could not rule through his weak health and lack of strength, he was not able to give up his crown to another for fear of bringing on the war and bloodshed he did his best to stall off. In face he was comely and fair, in body tall, slender, and well made. His understanding was good, and he was a lover of learning, but the illness that came to him from his grandfather, the King of France, must have sorely hindered him even in his quiet studies.

With Henry and his son dead, and Margaret a prisoner, Edward was safe at last, but he took care not to give his foes any more chances of dethroning him. Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, was put to death in prison. Falconbridge, who had given himself up and got a pardon, was beheaded by Gloucester. John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who held S. Michael's Mount for six months, and yielded to save his life, was shut up in Hammes Castle, near Calais. George the archbishop was kept under guard at Guisnes. Only Jasper Earl of Pembroke got away to Brittany with his young nephew Richmond, the heir of the Beauforts of whom Henry VI. had foretold great things. Edward did his best to get Duke Francis to give them up, but he would not trust the English king's promises. To lesser men Edward was always ready to give pardon, and even honour; thus he made Dr. Morton, the tutor of Margaret's son, Keeper of the Rolls, and he favoured Sir John Fortescue, Henry's chancellor, who was the best lawyer in England.

6. And now Edward began to make ready for an attack on France, for like Henry IV. he thought that it would be better to employ his nobles in fighting abroad than let them make war at home. To get money he sent to many rich people through England, begging them to give or lend him money, which he called "Benevolence." And they lent it, rather than be taxed by Parliament, for they were afraid lest Parliament should merely bring on quarrels and unsettle the peace. Edward got the help of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the Constable of S. Paul, and in June 1475 reached Calais with 1500 armoured knights and gentry,

15,000 mounted archers, besides artillery and foot soldiers. But Louis of France was too wise to fight him, and by crafty promises and gifts of money, he won over Edward and his nobles to make a truce at *Peronne*. At *Pecquigny*, on a bridge over the *Somme*, the two kings met and shook hands, and talked through a strong wooden grating set up between them. Louis paid Edward 75,000 crowns, and promised him 50,000 more every year, and engaged that his son should marry Edward's daughter. Margaret was to be ransomed by her father for 50,000 crowns. So the kings parted in peace, and Edward came home satisfied that he was now able, without asking Parliament, "to live off his own:" he could also keep a guard of stout yeomen about him, which no king since Richard II. had done. Some of his money he used in trade and made large profits; and he also got much gain from fines laid upon rich law-breakers, and by forcing those of his tenants who had broken the terms of their holding to pay heavily for a new title. The clergy gave him money again and again rather than run the risk of the troubles that would follow fresh taxes.

Peace with
France, 1473.
Clarence is put
to death, 1478.

Soon after the death of Warwick in 1474, Richard of Gloucester made up his mind to marry his youngest daughter Anne, the widow of King Henry's son, for he wished to share in the rich heritage left by the Kingmaker. Clarence, who hoped to keep it all for himself, did all he could to stop the match, even smuggling Lady Anne away in disguise. But Gloucester found her out, and married her in spite of Clarence, who then said that though he won the lady, he should have no share in the livelihood. But the king insisted that the heritage should be properly shared without further dispute. However, from this day forward Clarence showed ill-will to both of his brothers, and Richard was Clarence's secret foe. In 1476 Clarence's wife Isabel died, and he had one of her servants, Annkenet Twyndow, unjustly tried, and put to death, on the charge of having poisoned her. This made Edward angry, but he was still more displeased when at the death of Charles Duke of Burgundy, his widow Margaret planned to marry their daughter, Mary heiress of Burgundy, to her favourite brother Clarence. The king refused to further this match, and put forward Antony, his queen's brother, for Mary's hand, which angered Clarence, and he withdrew from court for a while. But when his foes had two of his servants tried and put to death for working witchcraft against the lives

of the king and others, he openly declared at the council that they were wrongly condemned. Whereupon, at the desire of Gloucester and the Woodvilles, who feared Clarence (for he was the next heir to Henry VI., and would be Regent in case Edward IV. should die before his sons were of age), Duke George was brought before the House of Lords. The king himself accused his brother of trying to destroy his title and seize his crown. He was declared guilty in a bill, and put to death secretly in the Tower in February 1478.

7. Henceforward the Woodvilles and Gloucester shared the king's favour and the offices of state between them. The king's mind was turned more and more towards a war abroad. In 1480 he quarrelled with James III., and sent his brother Gloucester to the Borders with an army against him; and later on, in 1482, when James's brother Albany, who had been in exile in France, came back to claim the throne of Scotland, he took up his cause warmly. At

Edward's plans
respecting Scot-
land and France.
Edward's charac-
ter and death
1478-1483.

Fotheringay Albany swore to hold Scotland as a fief of England, to give up Berwick, and to marry Cicely Edward's daughter, if Edward would help him to win the kingdom. In July Albany and Gloucester, with a large army, beset Berwick. King James set forth against them, but on the way the Earl of Angus seized him, hanged his chief counsellors, and bore him to Edinburgh a prisoner. Gloucester and Albany now left Berwick and hurried there also, and were received with joy; but, instead of taking the crown, Albany set his brother free, and made terms for him with England, on condition of yielding Berwick. Balked in Scotland, Edward and Gloucester now fell out with France in 1483, for Louis, breaking all his promises, betrothed the dauphin to Margaret of Burgundy's daughter, Mary. Edward called a parliament, got large supplies, and set about gathering an army for a second invasion of France, when he was suddenly stricken with fever at Exeter. Feeling himself near death, he sent for his kinsfolk, and prayed them to live peaceably with one another after he was gone. On the 9th April he died, aged 41, and his sister's son, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, took his body to Windsor to be buried.

Tall, stout, handsome, and skilled in all manly feats, Edward was as well gifted in mind as he was in body. Brave, quick, with all the powers of a good general (even in his boyhood winning every battle he ever fought), he had also many of the powers of a good captain—an open hand, a fair tongue, a ready ear, a cool brain. He loved his chil-

dren, was kind to his servants, did not forget his friends, and took pains to be courteous to all he met, rich or poor. But he was thoroughly selfish, over fond of pleasure, over hasty in his suspicions, over greedy of wealth, and too lazy to look far forward in his plans. Hence he did less with his gifts than he might have done, and his successes seem rather strokes of luck than the result of his own work. He was neither so good a man of business, nor so ready to put himself to trouble as his brother Richard; but, on the other hand, he was not so cruel or greedy. He was not so subtle or persuasive as his brother George, but he was more true to his word and steadfast to his aim. He was popular all his life rather by reason of his beauty and bravery and easy good-nature, than for any trouble he took for his subjects' sake. The most kingly quality he had was his unflinching justice, and zeal for fair law. The unsettled state in which he left the realm at his death must be the chief condemnation of his rule.

CHAPTER V.

Edward V. of Westminster, 1483;
and Richard III., 1483.

1. When Edward died, his elder son, Edward Prince of Wales, was at Ludlow, where he had been sent to be brought up by his mother's brother, Anthony Lord Rivers, one of the most learned and accomplished noblemen of the day. Most of the great lords of the Council, save the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, were in London. They at once met, and proclaimed the prince, who was then a handsome and clever boy of twelve years, King Edward the Fifth.

A regency was, of course, needful. The queen-mother's kinsmen, the Woodvilles and Greys, would have liked her to be regent. But the Council, led by the personal friends of the late king—Lord Hastings the Captain of Calais, Lord Stanley the Steward (who had married Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond), and John Duke of Suffolk, husband of Elizabeth, Edward IV.'s sister—wished to make Gloucester Protector. They therefore forbade Lord Rivers to bring more than 2000 men up from Wales with the little king. Gloucester, who was in Yorkshire when his brother died, set off to London with a large body of men, and met Buckingham at

Gloucester made Protector. The friends of the late King and Queen overthrown, May and June 1483.

Northampton. Here the two dukes laid their plans for the complete overthrow of the "queen's friends." At Stony-Stratford, where they met the king, they struck the first blow, arresting Rivers and his nephew, Sir Richard Grey. This sudden stroke frightened the queen, and she sought sanctuary at Westminster with her youngest son, Richard Duke of York, while her eldest son, the Marquis of Dorset, fled from London.

When the two dukes and the king reached London, where they were warmly welcomed, the Council met, and at Hastings' proposal, named Gloucester Protector and Defender of the Realm. Parliament was called, and the crowning of the little king fixed for the 22d June. But Gloucester and Buckingham were not content with the power Council had given them. The queen's party were helpless, at their mercy, but the "king's friends," led by Hastings, were still strong enough at the Council to check their plans. They therefore made up their minds to fall upon him. Gloucester quickly called out the levies of the northern shires, where he was held in much esteem, and sent orders to his friends Ratcliffe and the Earl of Northumberland to have Lord Rivers and the other prisoners of that party beheaded without further delay. In all this he was able to act more secretly and swiftly by means of the *regular post*, or service of mounted messengers, which he had devised when he was carrying on the Scottish war for his brother. On 13th June, when all was ready, the Protector came down to the Council, which met at the Tower, where the young king was lodged. At first he spoke pleasantly to them all, but then withdrew for a short time, to make sure that his soldiers were at hand. When he came back his face was dark, and, after sitting silent for a while, he cried, "What are they worthy of that compass my death?" "They are worthy of death," answered Hastings, "no matter who they be." Then Richard bared his left arm (which was thinner and smaller than the other), declaring that it had been wasted by the witchcraft of Queen Elizabeth and Jane Shore. The latter was a lady whom King Edward had dearly loved, and who was befriended by Hastings after his death. Hastings, willing to soothe the angry duke, answered gently, "My lord, if this be so, they are greatly to blame." "What," cried Gloucester, "dost serve me with 'ifs' and 'ans'?" I will prove my words upon thee, traitor!" and with that he smote the board sharply with his hand. The door flew open, and in rushed a band of guards, with

cries of "Treason!" They laid hands on the Bishops of York and Ely, and Lords Hastings and Stanley, the latter of whom was nearly killed by a blow from a sword. Gloucester bade them hale Hastings out and strike off his head at once, swearing by S. Paul that he would not break bread that day till he heard that he was dead. So as soon as he had been shrived by the first priest that could be found, the unlucky Hastings was beheaded on a log of timber that lay on the green by S. Peter's in the Tower. The other prisoners were set in safe keeping. Then Richard and Buckingham called for armour from the stores in the Tower, and putting on the first brigandines [body-armour] that came to hand, met the mayor and aldermen, whom they had sent for, and told them that the Chamberlain and his friends had plotted to put them to death and seize the government, and that they had been obliged to punish them at once, lest further evil should come of it. The mayor and aldermen, who knew that the duke was a wise and careful statesman, and believed him to be a pious and unselfish man, were glad of the news, and put all their trust in the two dukes. Richard's next step was to get Cardinal Bouchier to persuade the queen to give up the Duke of York. When she had done so, he brought him to his brother the king in the Tower with much state.

2. And now that he had no further danger to fear, for those whom he dreaded were either dead or in his power, while he had a large force of soldiers at his back ready to put down any rising against him, Richard began to take more open means to get himself made king. On Sunday 22nd June, Dr. Shaw, the mayor's brother, was set to preach at S. Paul's a sermon in which he said that, as the late king had been privately married to Eleanor Butler, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, before he wedded Lady Elizabeth Grey, his two sons Edward and Richard were not born in lawful wedlock, and therefore had no right to the crown. He even went further, and to the great astonishment of the crowd of citizens who listened to him, set forth his doubts as to the lawful birth of the late King Edward himself, at the same time talking of the certainty every one must feel that Gloucester was his father's true heir. This sermon was followed up on the following Tuesday by a speech from the Duke of Buckingham at Guildhall to the mayor and chief citizens of London. He repeated Dr. Shaw's arguments, said that the lords and commons of the north of England had sworn never to obey

The Protector
chosen King,
1483.

a king who was not lawfully born, noticed that Clarence's children were attainted by Act of Parliament, and declared that by right Duke Richard of Gloucester was the true heir to the crown of England and France. Upon this some of the assembly threw up their caps and hoods, with loud cries of "King Richard! King Richard!" Then the duke begged the mayor and company to go with him next morning to Baynard's Castle, where the Protector was lodging, and beg him to take the crown that was his right. So, on the 25th June, the duke, the mayor, with many lords, clergymen, and chief citizens, visited the Protector, and presented him with a signed roll, in which they prayed him in the name of the Three Estates to be their king. After a slight show of refusal Richard agreed to their wishes, and next day he walked to Westminster Hall in state to be proclaimed king. There he sat down on the judges' bench, and spoke to the lords and commons. He told them that he sat there because he wished to show that the king above all things should take care that the laws should be good laws and well kept. On the 6th July Richard and Anne his wife were crowned by the Archbishop, Cardinal Bourchier, amid great pomp, the Duke of Buckingham and the Countess of Richmond being the train-bearers of the new king and queen. Most men were well pleased to be ruled by a man who had given proofs of his talents and knowledge of affairs, rather than have to face once more the many dangers and difficulties of a long minority. After the crowning of Richard nothing more was heard of the little princes, and what became of them was indeed never clearly known. However, it was soon spread abroad that they were both dead, murdered in the Tower, as has ever since been most generally believed, by their uncle's order. And it is certain that the pity felt for their untimely fate, and the hatred it roused against the man who was looked upon as their merciless betrayer, were among the chief causes of his own downfall and death. Yet it does not seem that the princes' kindred or the great nobles believed at the time that Richard had killed his nephews, and for many years afterward, as will be seen, there were many who were sure that they had escaped from the Tower and were alive in hiding.

3. Richard began his reign by rewarding his friends. Lord Howard was made Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal and High Admiral, Buckingham Constable of England, Lord Berkley Earl of Nottingham, Lord Lovel Chamberlain, Northumberland Warden of the Northern Marches. His

own son Edward, Earl of Salisbury, a boy of ten years old, he made Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester, and Lieutenant of Ireland, and at York (which he visited in great state), knighted him on the 8th September. But Buckingham was not satisfied with what he had got by his work ; like Warwick he had made a king, and the king when made did not care to be ruled by him.

Buckingham's
rebellion and
fall.

When he claimed the earldom of Hereford, which had fallen into the crown, as the heir of the house of Bohun, Richard refused it. Buckingham at once began treating with the Woodvilles and Greys, and with the remains of the old Lancastrian party, the Courtneys, Bishop Morton, and the friends of the exiled Earl of Richmond. At first their plan had been to rise for the little King Edward V. But when it was bruited about that he and his brother were dead, by Morton's advice they determined to make Richmond king, and marry him to the Lady Bessy, eldest daughter of Edward IV., so as to join the two houses of York and Beaufort against Richard. The Stanleys, who were now in high favour with the king again, held back, for though Lord Stanley would gladly have seen his wife's son on the throne, he did not care to risk his life and lordship to profit Buckingham, who would, of course, have become Richmond's chief minister. The secret of the plot was well kept. On the 18th October all the southern shires rose from Kent to Devon ; Buckingham set up the new king's banner at Brecknock, and marched down to the Severn ; Richmond himself set sail from S. Malo for the south coast of England. Richard took swift means to quell the rebellion. He proclaimed death to the leaders and pardon to their followers. He broke down the Severn bridges so as to stop Buckingham, and then hurried in person to the south-west to meet Richmond as soon as he should land. However, Richmond's fleet was driven north by a heavy gale, and when he found himself alone off Poole, he dared not risk the venture, and put back to Brittany. Buckingham was kept back by the rising of the Severn, which made the fords too deep to ride. The rebels in the south-west, left leaderless, scattered and went home. And when Buckingham found that he had failed, he too fled in disguise to the house of one of his servants named Bannister, who betrayed him to Richard for a great price. In vain Buckingham prayed for an interview with the king, his head was struck off in Salisbury market-place. At Exeter Richard did not even spare his own sister's husband, Sir Thomas St. Leger, but he forgave all the commonalty.

4. When he got back to London at Christmas a parliament was called, 23d January, which decreed Richard's title good, as well by right of blood and inheritance as by lawful choice, hallowing, and crowning, attainted the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, the Countess of Richmond, the Marquis of Dorset, and others. This parliament also passed many useful Acts touching law, trade, and tax-collecting; by the Statute of Fines it enabled men to make good against all the world

Richard's plans
and Stanley's
treachery, 1485.

their title to the lands they held, a matter of much moment at a time when so much land had passed by forfeiture and attainder from hand to hand; by the Statute of Uses it forbade secret conveyances of land, and made the person for whose use land was held by the king the real owner in the eye of the law; by the article against "benevolences" it did away for ever with these new and unlawful inventions. The king, also gave the clergy a charter at this parliament, confirming all the rights his brother granted them in 1462.

Richard also strove to make a fresh settlement for the crown, for when, in the midst of his success, his only son died, April 1484, he adopted as his heir first Edward Earl of Warwick, the son of Clarence, and afterward John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, another nephew. Anne, John's sister, he proposed to marry to the prince of Scotland by the treaty of *Nottingham*, September, when he made a truce with King James. The Scots were glad of this peace, for the English fleet had driven their cruisers off the four seas, and now that Albany (who had been sheltered and helped by Richard when he quarrelled with his brother, and returned to England in 1483) had failed in the Raid of Lochmaben, and sought refuge in France, the English had no reasons for enmity with them. March 16, 1485, Richard's wife Anne, who had been long ailing, died, and now he persuaded Elizabeth, the dowager-queen, to throw over the schemes of those who would have married her daughter Lady Bessy to Richmond, and promise her to himself—a plan which Lady Bessy herself, whatever she thought secretly, openly approved of. But many of Richard's best friends tried to dissuade him from it, and he at last had to contradict it to the London citizens. However, before the final steps could be taken to bring about the marriage, Richard's own end came. When Buckingham fell Lord Stanley became Constable of England, his brother Sir William Justiciar of North Wales, and Henry Percy

Earl of Northumberland Chamberlain. But whether they dreaded the craft of the king, or hoped to get even higher rewards from his successes, certain it is that they entered secretly into a second plot for setting Richmond on the throne. After getting assurances of their help, the young earl sailed from Harfleur, with some French ships, and some 3000 Norman soldiers aboard, and slipping past Richard's fleet, landed at *Milford Haven* August 7. Richard, who had known of his coming, though he was not aware of the treachery of his ministers, had an army ready to meet him, and a large treasure raised by loans on pledge among his richer friends. He now issued a proclamation, in which he says that certain rebels and traitors, men of evil life, had come to attack England, having chosen for a captain "one Harry Tydder of base descent:" that these men had promised the King of France to give up all the English rights over Guienne, Anjou, and Normandy in return for his help to them; that they had shared among themselves the lordships of many of the clergy and nobles of England, and that they would surely take these, and overturn the laws of England and all men's rights if they could; that therefore he, Richard, who would put himself to all labour and pain for the comfort and safety of his subjects, bade all men be ready in arms to resist the said rebels, enemies, and traitors.

5. The royal forces gathered at Leicester, Northumberland, and the northern lords and gentry from the north, Norfolk from the east, Brackenbury from the south-east, and Lovel from the south-west. But Lord Stanley, who led the men of Lancashire and Cheshire, delayed to come, saying that he was ill of the "sweating sickness," an illness that was at that time raging in England. Doubting his excuse, Richard seized his son Lord Strange, who confessed that he and his uncle Sir William and others had sworn to help Richmond, but held out that his father knew nothing of the plot. The king bade him write to his father that he must bring his men up at once, or his son should die. All the while Henry was pushing for Leicester; on his road he was joined by Rees ap Thomas with his Welsh spearmen, by Sir Gilbert Talbot with the men of Shrewsbury, and by the friends of the Earl of Oxford and of Sir John Savage. But he agreed with Sir William Stanley, that, to save Lord Strange, the Stanleys should not come over openly to him till the day of battle. So they marched alongside of him a few miles off till the 21st August,

Richard killed
at Bosworth
field, 22nd Aug.
1485. His char-
acter and rule.

when they joined him at Atherston. Next morning the armies met at Redmore, near *Bosworth*. Richard drew up his men with skill. Norfolk led his vanguard, he himself the main body, while Percy lay on one wing. He had much artillery there, as the ballad says :—

“There were seven score serpentines [long cannon] without doubt,
 locked and chained up in a row,
 As many bombards [mortars] that were stout, like blasts of
 thunder they can blow,
 Ten thousand morris pikes [long spears] withal, and harchbusiers
 [musketeers] that could thoroughly thring [shoot],
 To make many a nobleman to fall, that stood against Richard
 that was our king.”

When Richard saw the “red coats” and “hartsheads” of the Stanleys ranged on Richmond’s side, he bade his men behead Lord Strange at once. But Sir William Harrington pointed out that the vanguards were beginning to fight, and begged the king to wait till he had all the three Stanleys in his power, and judge them together. So the young man escaped death. The battle began hotly :—

“They encounter’d together sad and sair, archers let sharp arrows
 flee,
 They shot guns both fell [fierce] and fair, bows of yew did
 bended be,
 Then the archers let their shooting by, and joinéd weapons in
 the fight.
 Brands rang on basnets [helmets] high, battle-axes fast on helms
 did light.”

But the day went against Richard, for Percy, who was in the plot with Stanley, gave way before the Welsh, who fought under the dragon banner of Wales, and though Norfolk stood bravely, he was driven back and slain by the fierce rush of the “white hoods” of Savage, the Talbot “hounds,” and the “blue boars” of Oxford :—

“Then a knight to King Richard gan say, good Sir William
 Harrington,
 ‘Sir,’ said he, ‘all we to-day, to the death are like here to be
 done.
 The Stanley strokes they are so strong, there may no man their
 blows abide,
 Methinks ye tarry here too long, ye may come back at another
 tide.
 Your horse at your hand is ready, another day ye may the
 worship win,
 And reign in right and royalty, and keep your crown, and be
 our king!’

'Nay, give me my battle-axe in my hand, and the crown of England on my helm so high,
For by Him that made both sea and land, King of England this day I will die.
One foot I will never flee, whilst the breath is my heart within !'
As he said so did it be. If he lost his life he died a King."

For when he saw that the day was lost he spurred his steed, White Surrey, straight at the St. George standard of Richmond, crying, "Treason, treason !" In his furious charge he cut down Henry's banner-bearer, Brandon, and unhorsed another strong knight. But he was almost alone, and before he could kill Henry he was overpowered and slain. Lord Stanley picked up the crown which had been stricken from the fallen king's helmet, and had fallen in a hawthorn bush, and taking Richmond to a little hillock close by, set it on his head amid shouts of "King Harry, King Harry !" The body of Richard was stripped and borne across a herald's horse, like a dead calf, to Leicester, where it was buried in the Grey Friars church. Brackenbury, Ratcliffe, Lord Ferrers, and Theobald, King Richard's standard-bearer (who clung to his banner when he could no longer stand for his wounds), died with their master. Henry lost scarce one man of note.

Richard was one of the most able kings that ever reigned in England, and so far as can be seen his rule deserves high praise. With all the talents and far more perseverance than his brother Edward, he took especial care of police, justice, and trade. The one parliament of his reign did more to better the laws than any since the death of Edward III. He was never tired of looking into his subjects' grievances himself, and in redressing these he showed uprightness and kindness. He had a higher sense of the royal honour than his brother, and he had been angry when Edward had taken bribes from the French king at Peronne rather than fight for his claims on France. He had never changed sides like the "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence," but had shown such a strong and unyielding party-feeling, that his foes set down to him the harshest measures that had been taken against the Red Rose. Whether he really did the deeds of which he is accused is not certain, but there is nothing in what is known of him to render his guilt unlikely. Unbounded selfishness and keen ambition, careful of the end but careless of the means to gain that end, appear in the character of many princes of his day, and might and often did exist along with the personal good-nature, gallantry,

generosity, high ability and outward strictness of life which Richard undoubtedly showed. He was a persuasive speaker, a lover of music, and art, and learning, and delighted in rich clothes, shows, and ceremonies, though his own dress was simple and good. He was, like all his family, handsome of face, and in spite of having one shoulder slightly higher than the other, and the left arm weaker and smaller than the right, he is said by those who knew him to have been a singularly active, agile, and powerful man. In his plan of governing by men such as Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovel, whom he could put up and set down as he liked, in his determination to quell the turbulence of his nobles by strict laws against men keeping large numbers of armed retainers or making partisans by the giving of badges, in the plans of finance by which he strove to lighten the burdens of the merchant, yeoman, and artisan, he improved upon his brother's policy, and laid down the lines upon which the Tudors ruled England for sixscore years to the people's liking and their own good-fortune—yet he has left his own name to become a by-word and a reproach.

CHAPTER VI.

Henry VII., 1485-1509.

1. Henry's first act was to send the Lady Bessy, his betrothed, and her cousin Edward of Warwick, Clarence's son, from the north, where they had been living in safe custody, to the Tower. He himself soon followed them to London, which he entered in great state amid much rejoicing on a Saturday, a day he always fancied brought him good fortune. But he was not able to be crowned for some weeks, because of the sweating sickness, which was raging very badly at the time in the city. After the coronation, when he made his father's brother Jasper Duke of Bedford, his step-father Stanley Earl of Derby, and his friend Sir Edward Courtney Earl of Devon, he called a parliament. It met and reversed the attainders of the new king's mother, kinsmen, and friends, annulled the Acts which declared Henry IV., V., and VI. usurpers and Edward IV.'s children base born, and passed a bill attainting King Richard and his chief counsellors. It

Henry crowned
and married,
1485-1486.

was also settled "that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in King Henry VII. and the heirs of his body," and both Houses prayed the new king to marry the Lady Elizabeth of York. To this he agreed, and after proclaiming a pardon to all who had offended him, he wedded the Lady Bessy on the 18th January. Knowing that Richard had been well liked in the north, he now resolved to follow his example and make a progress through his kingdom from London to York, redressing grievances, and meeting all who wished to see him or speak with him. On the road he was annoyed by the first of the many risings which made his reign almost as troublesome as that of Henry IV. Lord Lovel broke out of sanctuary, raised a band of soldiers, and was about to waylay the king on his road, while the Staffords (cousins of the late Duke of Buckingham) seized Worcester. But Bedford and the northern levies scattered Lovel's men, though he himself escaped to Flanders to Edward IV.'s sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, Henry's deadliest foe. The Staffords were easily put down. In England the Yorkists were too disheartened by their late defeats to risk further misfortune; but in Ireland, where they had not suffered for the cause, and where the government was wholly in their hands, there were many eager to strike another blow for the White Rose. The Fitzgeralds had been put into power by Richard of York, and his son Richard, in 1484, had named their head, the Earl of Kildare, Lord-Deputy for life. Henry VII. naturally leant towards the rival house, that of the Butlers, who were staunch Lancastrians; and though he dared not overthrow the Fitzgeralds, he at once sent over his uncle Jasper as Lord-Lieutenant to look after his interests. Kildare accordingly fell readily into a scheme formed at the court of Burgundy for the new king's overthrow.

2. In February 1487 there came to Waterford a priest, Richard Symons, with a handsome boy of ten years old, who he said was Edward of Warwick, son of Clarence, and heir of the English crown. They were welcomed and acknowledged by the Fitzgeralds, and the news sent to the Yorkists in England. John Earl of Lincoln, who had his own claims to the crown, travelled secretly to Flanders, and thence, by the help of the duchess, soon sailed to Dublin with Lord Lovel and a number of trained archbusiers under Martin Swart, a veteran captain. The plot was now ripe on May 15; the boy was crowned in Dublin Cathedral with a

The Lambert
Simmel rebellion
crushed at
Stoke, June 15,
1487.

circle of silver taken from the head of the Virgin's image, and borne through the streets after the Irish fashion on the shoulders of the chief of the Darcies. They then resolved to cross into England and attack King Henry there, and on June 4 landed at *Foudray*. Meanwhile Henry had made ready to resist his enemies; he brought the real Edward of Warwick out of the Tower, so that people might see for themselves that the boy the Irish crowned was a counterfeit; he levied troops, and he went a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham to pray for help in his troubles. The earls got as far south as *Stoke*, though their snowball did not gather as it went, and few Englishmen joined them. Here the king met them, and after three hours' hard fighting won the day. Martin Swart and his "merry men," Kildare and his Irish gallow-glasses, Lincoln and the English Yorkists, were all killed on the field. Lovel swam the Trent and reached his home, where he hid in a secret chamber underground for some time, till of wounds or want of food he died. The priest and the pretended Edward were taken. The former was sent to prison, but the latter Henry pardoned and made a turnspit in his kitchen, whence he afterwards rose to be a falconer in the Royal Mews. It was found out that his real name was Lambert, and that he was the son of Thomas Simmel, organ-maker, of Oxford. He was taken and trained to act as he did, because the Yorkists feared that if they chose Edward as king while he was in Henry's hands, the king would at once put him to death; whereas, if they set up a false Edward (whom they could easily get rid of if they were able to overthrow Henry), the king would be obliged, in his own interest, to keep the true Edward alive, to show the people that he was not with the rebels. Henry punished those whom he found to have been in the secret of the plot by heavy fines; and to show the Yorkists that he did not mean to persecute them, he had his queen crowned with much show of state, and sent to Ireland to pardon the Fitzgeralds on condition of their swearing to be faithful to him.

3. Henry now busied himself with foreign affairs, and especially with those of Scotland and Brittany. With James III. of Scotland he was good friends, and there was even some talk of the Scottish king marrying Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV., and of two of the Scottish princes wedding two of her unmarried daughters. But the Scottish nobles of the party of Albany rebelled, and seized the king's

eldest son (still a boy), pretending to be upholding his rights against his father's counsellors. On June 11, 1488, the royal army was utterly defeated, and James III. killed as he fled from the battle. The new king was under the sway of men who disliked Henry heartily, as was soon to be seen, but the old friends of James III., who took refuge in England, were always ready to forward the schemes of the English king, by whom they hoped to regain power some day in their own land. As for Brittany, Duke Francis was now old, and the young French king, Charles VIII., the Duke of Orleans, and Maximilian, King of the Romans, were all hoping to succeed to his heritage, since he had no heir-male. Henry was called upon by both Francis and Charles for help, but he did not wish to risk his troops abroad, or to spend money on other people's behalf. He therefore made the war a pretext for getting Parliament to give him a large subsidy, and sent Edward Earl Rivers with a few men to Brittany, promising further help later. But his craft overreached itself and brought him trouble, for the people in Yorkshire and Durham said openly that they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. But the king answered them that he would not bate a penny of what had been granted him by Parliament. Thereupon they rose under Sir John Egremont and John a' Chamber and killed the Earl of Northumberland, whom they hated both for his harshness to them in levying the tax and his treachery to their old favourite King Richard III. However, this rising was soon put down by Thomas, Earl of Surrey (son to the Duke of Norfolk, who died at Bosworth), who took and hanged John a' Chamber and many of his followers. In Brittany too things fell out ill, for the Bretons were badly beaten at *S. Aubin*, where Rivers was killed, and on Francis' death a few weeks later the French overran the greater part of his duchy. So angry were the English that Henry was obliged to send an army under Sir Robert Willoby to Brittany to help the heiress Anne, and another under Lords d'Aubigny and Morley to Flanders to aid Maximilian.—At *Dixmude* the English archers gained a splendid victory, storming the French camp and killing 8000 men, for they would give no quarter, as their leader, the young Lord Morley, had been killed. One archer, John Pearson, who was lamed by a cannon-shot, shot his arrows as he lay till the Frenchmen fled, and then he cried to one of his fellows,

Henry's treaties
and wars abroad,
1487-1492.

saying, 'Take thou these six arrows that I have left, and follow thou the chase, for I cannot.' At *Newport* too they beat off the French Captain Descordes, who had said that he would be content to lie in hell seven years if he might win Calais from the English! This battle brought about a peace between Charles and Maximilian and Anne. But the King of the Romans was too laggard a lover to carry off his bride while he had the chance, and Charles forced upon her a treaty by which she was to marry him instead, and promised to leave her domains to the King of France or his heir. This marriage took place in December 1491, and Maximilian was doubly angered at it, for he not only lost his own bride, but his daughter Margaret, who had been betrothed to Charles, lost her bridegroom. The English again called out for war, and Henry raised large sums by Benevolences, in levying which Morton, Henry's Chancellor, gave those who should gather them the famous instructions that have since been known as his *fork* or *crutch*—to wit, if they saw any gentry sparing in their way of life, they should tell them that since they must be saving, they must needs have something to lend the king; and if they met any that lived richly, they were to say that since they could afford to spend so much, they must be well able to help the king. With the money so got Henry called out a great army and landed at Boulogne, October 1492. But all his warlike show was merely meant to frighten Charles into paying a good round sum for peace; and as soon as Lord d'Aubigny had got an offer of £127,666, Henry closed with it, and blaming the delays of Maximilian for his own inaction, went home, as Edward IV. had done after the treaty of Peronne. He had indeed a foe to cope with more to be dreaded than Charles, and it is possible that he was content with less money than he would otherwise have asked for that he might have his hands free to deal with this new danger.

4. In 1492 there landed at Cork from Portugal, a fair-spoken, richly dressed youth, who said he was Richard Duke of York, and prayed for help from the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, the chiefs of the Fitzgeralds. He alleged that he had been saved from the Tower when his brother, Edward V., was killed by King Richard's murderers, and that he was now come to claim his heritage. Charles VIII. sent for him when he was at war with King Henry, and treated him as the true prince; and at the French court many outlawed and exiled

The rebellion of
Richard or
Perkin,
1492-1499.

Yorkists drew to him. After the treaty of *Boulogne* Charles sent him into Flanders to the Duchess Margaret, who acknowledged him as her nephew, did him all princely honour, calling him the *White Rose of England*, and giving him a guard of thirty halbardiers clad in murrey [mulberry red] and blue. Henry published an account of the murder of the princes, drawn, as he said, from the confessions of the murderers, Dighton and Tyrrell, in order to prove that Richard was an impostor. He also sent spies to Ireland, Flanders, and France, to find out all he could both about the young man himself and those with whom he was in correspondence in England. Moreover, he bought over Sir Robert Clifford, who betrayed to him the names of many who had promised Richard help. He sent to Flanders too, and begged the Archduke Philip, Maximilian's son, to turn the young man out of his domains; and upon his answer that the dowager-duchess could do as she liked in her own land, Henry banished all the Flemings from England, and moved the regular mart or staple of the English wool trade from Antwerp to Calais, which was a great blow to the trade of the Low Countries. He then dealt his first stroke at the new Yorkist party by arresting Lord Fitzwalter and several northern gentlemen and clergymen, who were tried, condemned, and, save Fitzwalter himself and three others, pardoned. To Ireland he sent pardons as before (for the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Desmond had agreed to join Richard), and he took care for the better government of that country, by sending his trusty minister, Sir Edward Poynings, as deputy. Sir Edward sent Gerald Earl of Kildare over to England, to be examined by the Council, who were satisfied of his innocence. He also got the Irish Parliament to pass the Acts known as *Poyning's Laws*, by which the Acts of the English Parliament were of force in Ireland, and the Irish Parliament was forbidden to pass any Acts that should not be approved of by the Privy Council. These Acts made future Irish parliaments depend almost wholly upon the English government of the day. The king now made his second son Henry Duke of York, showing thereby his contempt of the claims of Richard. After the Christmas feasts were over the court moved to the Tower, and there, early in January, Sir Robert Clifford came to beg his pardon of the king, and to accuse Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain, of treason. He was at once arrested, confessed his guilt, and in February executed. It was said that the first thing that led Stanley

—who had been the chief person in gaining the king his crown—to wish to overthrow him, was the king's refusal to make him Earl of Chester, a title he kept for his own eldest son Arthur. By Stanley's death Henry got £40,000 (the plunder of Bosworth), besides great estates that had once belonged to his old friend the Duke of Buckingham. The Parliament which Henry held in the year 1495 was one of the most eventful of his reign. It passed an Act by which no one who served *the king for the time being*, whether he be the lawful king or no, shall be liable to be attainted as a traitor, or suffer any vexatious trouble or loss (a very welcome law to those who had been in any former king's service). It allowed persons too poor to buy writs to have them freely without fee. It ordered that judges should have power to fine jurymen giving untrue verdicts. The royal household was to cost no more than £12,000 a year. At last Richard sailed from Flanders, and landed a party of men at Deal. Here the Mayor of Sandwich and the Sheriff of Kent fell upon them and took some eightscore, who were sent to London, railed in ropes like a team of cart-horses, to be hanged and set on gibbets along the coast of Kent, for a warning to their friends. Richard himself sailed on to Ireland, and, being joined by many of the Fitzgeralds, laid siege to Waterford (a town with whom they had a long-standing feud), but in vain; so that being invited by King James IV. he thought best to go to him, hoping to get better help than he could look for in Ireland.

James not only received Richard well, but made a league with him, gave him his own cousin Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, to wife, and in 1496 invaded England on his behalf. A proclamation was put forth in the name of Richard the Fourth, King of England, declaring Henry a usurper, and offering a reward of £1000 for his head, accusing him of putting to death Richard's true subjects, and governing by means of Bishop Fox, Simpson, and "such other caitiffs and villains born," and promising that the King of Scots would go back without reward as soon as Henry was overthrown. But after wasting Northumberland, a course against which Richard protested, the Scots were forced to retire, for no one would join them, and they were afraid to risk a pitched battle. Henry, however, did not spare pains to forestall a fourth invasion. He made a treaty with the Archduke of Flanders, known as the *Magnus Intercursus*, by which trade was to be resumed, and each side agreed to expel rebels against the

other taking refuge in their domains, thus closing a refuge against Richard. He also got Parliament to give him a fresh subsidy of £120,000 to make the north safe against Scottish attacks. But this tax was resisted in Cornwall by the people, who were told by Michael Joseph, the farrier of Bodmin, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, that they were not bound to be taxed for the northern counties, whose need should be met by *scutage* and the other feudal dues. This encouraged them to rise and march to London to punish Archbishop Morton, who laid on this tax. So, armed with bills, bows, and clubs, they marched in good order to Kent under Lord Audley, Michael, and Thomas, and camped on *Blackheath*. Henry sent Surrey to guard the north, and himself, with the Earls of Oxford, Essex, and Suffolk, and Lord d'Aubigny, made ready to defend London. June 17th, 1497, after some desperate fighting—for the Cornishmen were famed for their strength and skill in archery, and it was noted after the fight that their arrows were some inches longer than those of the royal soldiers—d'Aubigny won the day for the king, killing 2000 rebels, and taking Lord Audley, Michael, and Thomas prisoners. These three were executed in London, and the rest pardoned. Surrey on his side drove back the Scottish host, and carried the war into Scotland. So that James was not unwilling to make peace and send Richard away. Accordingly in July, Richard, with his wife and a few faithful followers, set out for Ireland in ships which James had given him. From here, urged by his counsellor lawyer Ashley, he crossed to Cornwall, where the late rising showed how little Henry was loved, and being well received there, led about 3000 men to beset Exeter. But the king's friends now gathered in numbers against him, so he resolved to leave Exeter, which he could not take, and march on to the east. At Taunton his army, 7000 strong, faced the royal troops; but at midnight, before the battle, his heart failed him, and he fled secretly to Bewley, where he took sanctuary. His followers, left to their fate, disbanded. The king forgave the Cornishmen, after punishing them with heavy fines; the townsmen of Exeter he rewarded and thanked, giving the mayor his own sword as a token of his esteem. Richard's wife was taken at St. Michael's Mount, and Henry, touched by her beauty and faithfulness, made her lady-in-waiting to his own queen. Richard himself was lured from Bewley on promise of his life being spared, and brought in the king's train to London, where he abode as

an honoured prisoner at the court, kindly treated but carefully watched. A confession was published, in which he was made to say that his real name was Piers Wosbeck, son of John of Wosbeck and Catherine of Faro, his wife, citizens of Tournay, that he had lived in company with Englishmen at Antwerp and other towns in the Low Countries, whence he had gone to Portugal and taken service with Sir Piers Vacz da Cunha, and finally came with a Breton, Pregent Meno, to Cork, where he was persuaded to call himself the Duke of York. Next year, 1498, Richard fled from the court, but finding the roads all guarded, took sanctuary at *Sheen*; but the king again agreed to spare his life, and he again yielded himself. He was now imprisoned in the Tower. Here he met Edward of Warwick, Clarence's son, with whom he was accused soon afterwards of plotting to seize the Tower and overthrow the king, and upon this charge they were tried, condemned, and put to death, November 1499. But many said that it was not their guilt that brought them to their end, but the wish Henry had to marry his son Arthur to Katherine, daughter of the King of Naples and Aragon, who would not consent to the wedding "as long as a doubtful drop of royal blood remained in England." However this may be, it is noteworthy that the brothers of the late Earl of Lincoln (Richard III.'s heir), now the last living male stocks of the White Rose—Edmund de la Pole and his brother Richard—fled from England in 1501. A wise step, as was shown by the execution of many of their friends and kinsmen in 1502, and the attainder of themselves and their friend William Courtnay, Earl of Devon, husband of Catherine, Edward IV.'s daughter, in 1504. Yet it could not save them altogether.

5. At the end of the year 1501, according to an agreement come to at an interview between Henry and the Archduke Philip at Calais in 1500, Prince Arthur married Katherine of Aragon, and a year later his sister went to Scotland to be the wife of James IV. When Arthur (who is said to have been a youth of great gifts) died, April 2, 1502, Henry got the Pope's leave to betroth his widow, Katherine, to his second son, Henry Duke of York, who was now made Prince of Wales. In 1500 Henry had lost his old friend Archbishop Morton, who had done more than any man to bring about the reunion of the Two Roses. He was not a popular man, however, for he had offended the people by the benevolences and

Henry's schemes
at home and
abroad, 1501-9.

taxes he advised his master to raise, and he made the monks angry by an inspection he made of the minsters and convents, where indeed he found much that needed correction and reform. Henry's wife did not long outlive her son, dying in 1503. And now that he had overcome nearly all his difficulties, the king's own health began to fail, growing worse and worse till his death. Yet he did not withdraw from business, but employed himself in treaties with foreign princes abroad, and in gathering treasures at home. In 1503 he got Pope Alexander VI., who had sent him a sword and cap of honour, to lessen the privileges of *sanctuary*, which had little by little become a stumbling-block in the path of justice, whereby offenders too often escaped the rightful punishment of their crimes. In 1504 another busy Parliament met, in which large grants were made to the king; corporations, guilds, and fellowships were forbidden to make by-laws without the assent of the Chancellor or justices; *maintenance* and giving of liveries and badges were ordered to be judged in the Council or by the King's Bench. In 1506, as the King of Castile, Philip the Archduke, was passing Dover Channel with his wife Joan, they were driven into Falmouth by stress of weather. Henry at once bid them to his court, and they were not able to refuse. "Two miles out of Windsor they met, and Henry received Philip in the goodliest manner, and each of them embraced the other in his arms. To show you the King of England's apparel, thus it was:—His horse of bay trapped with needlework, a gown of purple velvet, a chain with a George of diamonds, and a hood of purple velvet, which he put not off at the meeting of the said King of Castile. His hat and his bonnet he availed [took off], and the King of Castile in like case. And the King of Castile rode upon a sorrel hobby [hackney] which the king gave him. His apparel was all black, a gown of black velvet, a black hood, a black hat, and his horse harness of black velvet." But though Henry treated Philip with such courtesy, holding feasts in his honour, making him Knight of the Garter and the like, he would not let him go till he had promised (1) to give him his sister Margaret of Savoy in marriage; (2) to marry his eldest son Charles to Henry's daughter Mary; (3) to seal a treaty of commerce so favourable to the English merchants and fishermen, and so unwelcome to the Flemings, that it was called by them the *Malus Intercursus*; (4) to give up Edward and Richard de la Pole on condition of their lives being spared. Richard fled to Hungary, but Edward was

sent to England, and not till he arrived was Philip allowed to go on his way. Philip died before Henry received Margaret as bride, and the English king thereupon gave up this match, and sought to wed Joan Queen of Castile, Philip's widow, although she was mad. The marriage between Charles and Mary also fell through, though there was much time spent in bargaining over it by the king's agents abroad. At home Henry worked chiefly through two of his councillors, Robert Dudley, a Warwickshire squire, and Richard Empson, the son of a sievemaking. Bold men, careless of scorn, hated by the people as the king's "horse-leeches and skin-shearers," they busied themselves in filling the treasury and their own pockets, by making men pay heavy fees for the privilege of being tried; by extorting large sums for charters of pardon; by fining jurymen for their sentences; by setting men (whom the people nicknamed *promoters* and *questmongers*) to seek out those who had broken the laws in petty ways, and either frighten them into paying highly to be let off, or condemn them without mercy to excessive fines; by making corporations and guilds give enormous sums to allow their privileges and by-laws to stand. By which unjust doings the king, at his death, had more than £1,800,000 gathered in secret places under his own key. Twice when he felt ill and near his end, he showed that he knew of the evil ways by which his servants had amassed money for him, for he ordered the petty debtors who filled the prisons to be set free, and bade the judges hear complaints against his councillors. And on his deathbed he wished what he had unjustly gotten to be given back, but as long as he was well he did not check the wickedness going on in his name. On April 22, 1509, he died at Richmond, in the palace he had built. He lies in the fair chapel he made for his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

An exile or a prisoner from the age of five till he won his crown, Henry grew up serious, silent, suspicious, and reserved, neither hating nor loving, but using his fellow-creatures with no closer care than his own well-being, no deeper religion than a regard for his own soul. He is described as of middle height, spare built, with a long pale face, grey eyes, dark brown hair, and a red wart on the right cheek. He loved fine clothes and glittering pageants. In his search for wealth, it is worth noting that he risked a little money in sending Sebastian Gabato on a voyage to the New World.

CHAPTER VII.

England in the Fifteenth Century.

1. During this century the constitution was little changed. The long wars abroad and troubles at home left the king and nobles scant space for reforms. The rulers of the house of Lancaster made a show of great respect to Parliament, but it was under Henry VI. that the power of voting in the counties was denied to all those who had not a freehold worth 40s. a year. The wish to let old disputes sleep made the first king of the house of York call as few parliaments as possible, and indeed men wanted neither fresh taxes nor new laws, but a strong prince who would see the old laws kept, and be mindful that justice was done as swiftly and cheaply as might be to rich and poor alike. To secure this, the king's Council held many sittings, and in the end one of its committees, to which the special duty of seeing to the keeping of the peace and the upholding of justice was trusted, became a regular court, with rules and rights of its own, under the name of the *Star Chamber*. It got this name from the blue star-painted roof of the room at Westminster in which it was held. Just as the Chancellor gave redress in his court to those who could not get it from the common law-courts in certain cases when their *property* was injured, so the Star Chamber took up those cases of *criminal* wrongdoing which the common law-courts could not or would not attend to. And those who strove to prevent a man from getting justice, or banded together against their neighbours, or fostered quarrels and kept up feuds, or, as jurymen, gave verdicts against the evidence they had heard and the oath they had sworn, were brought before the Star Chamber and fined or imprisoned. But the Star Chamber could not touch a man's life or lands as the common law-courts could, because its sentence was not given by a judge according to the finding of a jury in the old English fashion, but settled by the votes of the councillors upon their secret examination of the prisoner and the witnesses in the manner of the Roman Law. Now that the Council was so strong, little by little it began to use the bad foreign plan of torturing prisoners to make them tell what they knew, and it is said that the Duke of Exeter started it, for he had seen it used in France. But as yet none were tortured who were not open evildoers ; and so, though the duke got

Power of the
Council. The
Star Chamber.

as ill a name for cruelty to prisoners as Tiptoft had won for maiming and mocking dead men's bodies, men did not blame the Council, and at this time were glad that the Star Chamber was strong and active enough to deal with many a powerful law-breaker, who, under the weak rule of Henry VI., would have got off scot-free.

2. As for the Church, the bishops and abbots and priors withstood all ideas of reform from without, and were too busy over fighting heresy, managing their growing property, and working the Church courts, to bestir themselves in the matter. But though the failure of Sir John Old-

The Church rich,
and not reform-
ing itself.

castle's plan made it dangerous to meddle with Lollardy, there were not a few who, like Sir John Fastolf, saw that things could not go on so with the Church for ever. We find that there was growing up, in quiet, a deep discontent against the greedy courts, the worldly lives, and the enormous and ill-spent wealth of the clergy. The bishops met this not only by burning heretics, but by founding colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, where the young clergy might be brought up in their own views. Gascoyne, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, has spoken plainly upon the evils of the Church in his day in his note-book, and the popular songs show small respect for the friars. Even the book of Bishop Peacock against Wycliff was so bold in starting new views on the faith and life of the Church, that he was deprived of his bishopric, and imprisoned as a heretic in 1459.

3. The fifteenth century was a flourishing time for English farmers and merchants. The seasons were fair, the crops good, the seas were safer than before, and the demand for English goods never slackened. The *customary rents* being now paid at a fixed sum of money instead of in kind [that is, in corn or cattle or labour], and the practice largely used by landlords of stocking and letting small farms to leaseholders at low rates, the yeoman, copyholder, and farmer were all able to profit by the good years, and glad to do their best by their land, knowing that their labour would benefit themselves. By 1450 the land was better tilled and yielded larger crops than before the Black Death.

In the towns, in spite of the losses by war and pirates, and the foolish debasement of the money by Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward IV. (which, of course, tended to hamper foreign trade), merchants and workmen did well. The craft-guilds were now at the height of their power and useful-

Prosperity of
yeomen, crafts-
men, and
merchants.

ness, they secured their members against many of the misfortunes that might befall them, encouraged self-help and kindly fellowship, rewarded thrift, kept prices steady, prevented sudden transfers of labour from trade to trade, discouraged extravagant profits, and kept a watch over the conduct of the craftsmen and the kind of work they turned out. Our foreign trade also largely increased, as might be guessed from the treaties of commerce with Brittany, Castile, Portugal, Florence, Flanders, and the Hansa or Trading League of the Baltic towns, made by Henry IV., Edward IV., and Henry VII. Shipbuilding flourished, and John Taverner of Hull launched the biggest vessel yet built in England, for his use in the North Sea trade. All kinds of ships (carvels, barges, balingers, cogs, and crayers) sail from English ports with wool, corn, lead, tin, honey, and hides, and even such manufactured goods as saddlery, hardware, and guns. They come back to England laden with wine, wood, alum, bowstaves, spices, and dried fruits. Not only did English goods fill the great fairs of Brabant, Flanders, and Zealand, but London and Southampton were marts to which the long galleys of Florence and Venice brought paper, Greek wine and sugar, Eastern stuffs and silk, turquoises, and balas rubies, which were paid for partly in wool and partly in silver. New trades grew up, Ireland supplied furs and dried hake and strong coarse cloths—*frize* and *serges* and *falding*. In 1414 William Canning and other northern merchants brought the Iceland trade from the east coast to Bristol, and, in spite of the Danes' ill-will, soon got hold of the market there, buying stock-fish and eider-down and brimstone, and selling wine and grain and timber in return. The *Merchant Adventurers* had their *factory*, or trading-house at Bergen, side by side with that of the Easterlings. The English kings began to keep up a fleet; Henry V., like his great-grandfather, Edward III., built a large ship, called the *Grace Dieu*, and the Lord High Admiral, who had a court of his own to try crimes committed at sea, was one of the chief officers of the Crown.

4. There were perhaps fewer great buildings raised in England at this time, but numbers of country and town houses, college buildings, chapels, town churches, and additions to older cathedrals, castles, and palaces remain to show the taste of the century. The *style* of these is called *perpendicular*, from the great use made of right angles and upright lines in its buildings. It is known by its flat arches, square-headed

Perpendicular
architecture in
England.

windows and doors, square-panelled walling, lofty pinnacles, low-pitched roofs, large broad window-lights, and elaborate ceilings delicately wrought with heavy carved pendants and thickly ribbed vaulting. The use of red and black brick for flat walling was increasing in the latter part of the century. The college at Eton of Henry VI.'s foundation, the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, the tower of Magdalen College, Oxford (early in the 16th century), built by Wolsey, and the same churchman's later palace buildings at Hampton Court, and college hall and choir roof at Christ Church, the Divinity School at Oxford, and the tower of Gloucester Cathedral, are fine examples of this style, which was more widely spread and used in England than in any continental country.

5. Change in architecture is nearly always a proof of a general change in taste, and so it was now, as folks' dress showed. The mantle and hood of the fourteenth century were disused, save by judges, mayors, bishops, and such great dignitaries. The dress of the men of the middle and upper classes was a long cloth gown with large sleeves, often fur-lined in winter at edge and wrist, girt with a narrow leather belt, from which hung the wearer's straight, broad-bladed, double-edged, ivory-hilted knife, his *gypser* [pouch], silver-mounted and silk-knotted, and his set or pair of large beads with a signet-ring at their tassel. Late in the century Edward IV. delighted in huge open sleeves, turned back on the shoulder, to show the rich lining of velvet or sable. Below this the short close-buttoned tunic, now called a *doublet*, and long cloth hose were worn as before. The hood in Henry IV.'s day was often worn as a cap, the face-hole fitting the crown of the head, while the neck-tippet hung down as a scarf, and the pipe of the hood wound round the flattened head part kept it in shape. Later it was twisted into a scarf, and buttoned to the shoulder of the gown. Men's head-gear was a tight skull-cap of velvet or cloth, and over this, in public or out-of-doors, a "broad bonnet," with jewel clasp and plume. This bonnet was simply the older tall cone-shaped beaver hat with its edges turned up all round and kept in place by a buckle of bronze or silver, and its top flattened into a broad crown. Sometimes only the back was turned up; the front edge then formed a peak, and shaded the eyes. Beneath the gown a short tight tunic was worn, and long, tight cloth hose; the shoes were often peaked into long curling toe-pieces. High Spanish boots

Dress of the
fifteenth century
in England.

of soft leather were worn by travellers or huntsmen. The ladies also gave up the mantle and furred sur-coat, and took to a long-flowing, deep-sleeved gown, high and closely girt, with the collar thrown back over the shoulders, so that the tight necklace and embroidered linen collar could be seen. Married women wore their hair in large square-shaped nets or combs of silver wire, stiffly set on *each side* of the head, over which a lawn kerchief or cambric veil was fastened flat above and hanging to the shoulders behind. Sometimes these side-nets were roll-shaped, and rose high on each side above the crown like horns. But later in the century the fashion changed, and the hair was worn in a mass at the *back* of the head under a stiff square or arched cap of velvet or fur, with embroidered lappets that hung down at the sides of the face and covered all the back of the head. The gown was now cut tight to the arms and waist, and a broad belt with silver studs clasped about the hips, at the hanging end of which swung the looking-glass or scent-box set with silver. Long Italian feather-fans, copied from Eastern models, came into use at the end of the century. Jewels were largely used—set in buttons, clasps, sewed into embroidered work on head-gear or gown, strung upon the necklace or let into rings. Large sums were spent in dress, and both Edward IV. and Henry VII. took much thought and laid out much money upon their own and their wives' apparel. The old cuts and fashion of Edward III.'s days were still seen in the dark dresses of nuns and widows. The priest's robes had hardly changed since the thirteenth century.

6. Armour was at its most complicated form in this century. Fresh pieces of plate strengthened the weak places which had formerly been guarded by mail, *tuiles* or skirt-pieces lapped over the thigh, *pauldrons* or shoulder-plates covered the shoulder and armpit, strong, flexible *splints*, jointed like the crawfish's tail, sheltered the throat, just above the breastplate, joined the elbow and knee-pieces to the arm and leg-plates, and formed the *gauntlets* and *sollerets* [metal shoes]. The left elbow-piece was broadened till it almost took the place of a shield; the breastplate was doubled in strength by a broad belt-piece covering the waist above and below. Everywhere the plates were cunningly curved and shaped so as to turn a blow and let a thrust glide off, while they allowed their wearer to move as freely as possible under their weight of steel. But the increasing employment of

Armour in the
fifteenth cen-
tury.

gunpowder in war (especially abroad, where light, well-bored hand-guns were coming into use) was ere long to make all this skilful and thoughtful work vain; for it was seen that complete armour that would turn a bullet must be too cumbrous for real use. In England the longbows, which would shoot far faster and nearly as hard as these hand-guns, still held their own for almost a century. The 18-foot Swiss pike had become a favourite weapon, for with it steady foot-soldiers could withstand the heaviest cavalry, though not a match for skilled Spanish swordsmen. The advantage of drill, and the regular training of soldiers in the use of their arms, was beginning to be acknowledged abroad, though it was not generally accepted in England till the next century. War was growing more costly than it had ever been before.

7. During this century few English writers of note appear. Even the history of the time must be pieced together out of private letters, deeds, and account-books, rather than sought in State papers or minster histories. The long series of St. Alban's chroniclers ends with those of John of Amundsham (1421-40) and an unnamed monk, and the register of the abbot, John of Whethamstede (1452-61). *Thomas Otterbourne*, a minorite, and *John Capgrave*, an Austin friar of Lynn, both wrote chronicles for the Lancaster kings; and *Thomas Elmham*, prior of Lenton, penned prose and verse lives of Henry V. But the fashion now ran rather for princes and nobles to keep private *historiographers*, usually their heralds or chaplains, sometimes foreigners of learning. These men often wrote memoirs (we have one such of the Earl of Warwick); Henry V. and Edward IV.'s chaplains wrote of parts of their masters' career; and *Bernard André*, of Thoulouse, the poet-laureate, was Henry VII.'s chronicler, as *Polydore Vergil*, the Italian scholar, was Henry VIII.'s. *Titus Livius*, another Italian, was the historian of the "Good Duke Humphrey," for whom he wrote his brother's life. *William of Worcester* (Sir John Fastolf's clerk and executor) wrote annals 1324-1491. *John Page* wrote, in rough vein, of the *Sieges of Harfleur and Paris*, which, as an attendant of Henry V., he had witnessed. *John Harding*, a servant of the Percies, is the author of a full and well-composed history in verse. Private persons now began here and there to keep diaries noting the main public events they saw or heard of. There are also collections of correspondence come down to us, such as those of *Bekinton* and the *Pastons*,

English writers
of the fifteenth
century.

the latter a mass of letters to and from John Paston or Caistor (co-executor with William of Worcester to Sir John Fastolf), and his family to the third generation, giving us much minute knowledge of the life and history of the times they cover. For the story of the loss of France, the chronicles of *Jean de Waurin*, *Robert Blondel*, *Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, and the French chronicles of the *Maid of Orleans* and the *Realms of France and Normandy*, give great help. The works of *Sir John Fortescue* (c. 1400-c. 1485), the chief justice, especially the *Praises of the Laws of England*, and *The Governance of England*, give the opinions of an accomplished lawyer upon the English constitution of his own day.

The poetry of the time was poor, written in imitation of Chaucer, or of the French *rhetoriqueurs* (a school of poets with a forced and unnatural style), or even of the jog-trot makers of *Rimes* or Verse-Romances which Chaucer had laughed at in his *Sir Thopaz*. *John of Lydgate*, the monk of Bury (1373-1460), whose long-winded *Saints' Lives* and *Story of Thebes* exist, and *Thomas Hoccleve* (1370-1454), a more vigorous writer, who might in another age have done better work, were reckoned the best English verse-makers. *Dr. Oswald Bokenam*, an Austin friar of Stoke-Clare, in Suffolk, set several saints' lives into verse in 1443. There were others in the north and south of England who wrote similar works in regular but wooden verse; but the best collection of *Saints' Lives* was in prose by *John Mirk*, Austin canon of Lulshill, called the *Festial*, a book widely read and copied. There were also several sets of *Mysteries* or *Miracle-Plays* made in verse in this century, during which these popular Scripture plays were very popular. One set was penned, c. 1470, by a canon of Chester. There were also no small number of *ballads* made, but we do not know the name of any that composed them, though they comprise far the best poetry of the century in England.

Chaucer's noblest followers wrote at the Scottish court. *James the First*, who had learned to love the English poet while a prisoner in England, wrote the *Kingis Quhair*, c. 1420, a pretty love-poem, in his master's style. And later in the century, *Robert Henryson*, of Dunfermline, finished Chaucer's *Troilus* in his *Testament of Cresseid*, and was the first man to imitate, in the English tongue, the pretty pastoral and animal fables which he found in French. His *Robyn and Makyne*, c. 1490, is the most graceful English poem of this century. About 1460, *Blind Harry*, a wandering minstrel, made a fine rough epic on the

national hero Wallace, which has never lost favour in Scotland.

8. Up to this time all books had been penned on parchment or paper, and there was a large class of *Scriveners*, whose business it was to copy books or writings for their employers,—thus Chaucer's scribe was named Adam, and the names of many others are met at the end of the books they copied. They wrote clear and regular hands; and at this time their skill was great, and they could turn out books well and quickly. But their art was to be almost entirely set aside by a new invention.

Ever since 1300, regular block-printing had been known in Europe; it had reached England as early as 1350. Upon flat-faced wooden blocks a drawing was made or a sentence written in black, all the white surface was then cut away so as to leave the pattern in relief; this was smeared with an oily ink, and then pressed upon pieces of paper or parchment, upon which it *printed* the design. In this way cards and placards and little books were made, as had been done long before in Japan and China (whence the art probably spread into the west); and it is in this way that *woodcuts* are now cut and printed. But these *block-books* are not *printed books* in the sense we now use those words, for there were as yet no *types* (that is, separate bits of metal, each cut into the pattern of a single letter), which could be set up together into any set of words, and then, when they were printed off in any number of copies, set up again in a fresh set of words, and so on. This discovery, which made printing cheap and easy, was made by a citizen of Mainz, one *John Gutenberg* (1400-68), who invented a means of casting correct and clear metal types about 1450. He entered into a partnership with a fellow-citizen, John Fust, a money-lender, and before 1455 was able to put forth the first and also the most beautiful book that was ever printed—the *Gutenberg Bible*. Though Gutenberg gained little by his skill, for he was cheated by his partner, his wonderful invention soon spread, and before 1500 there were printing-offices hard at work in all the great towns of Western Europe. The first English printer was William Caxton (1422-92); he had been apprenticed to the Lord Mayor of London, and when he became a master he settled in Bruges as a merchant, and grew into such good repute that he was made Governor of the Company of Merchant

Printing brought
to England by
William Caxton.

Adventurers in 1458. He entered the service of the Duchess of Burgundy in 1471, and betook himself to learning the *new art* from Ulric Zell of Cologne. He then bought types from Colard Mansion, a Flemish printer, and printed, about 1474, the *Game and Play of the Chess*. Soon after this he moved to England, and, under the favour of the king and the Abbot of Westminster, set up his press in Westminster Sanctuary, whence he issued such books as he thought best and most useful, both in English and Latin. Among them were *Chaucer's Works*; the *Polychronicon* (to which he made additions, thus bringing the history of England down to his own day); the *Recuyell* [compilation] of the *History of Troy* (which he had first undertaken to translate for the Duchess of Burgundy); the *Morte d'Arthur* (founded on the French prose, romances, and Scottish poems of the Arthur cycle, and put into English prose by Sir Thomas Malory, a priest); *The Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers* (Englished by Anthony Lord Rivers, brother-in-law of Edward IV.); the story of *Reynard the Fox* (turned from the Flemish by Caxton); and the *Golden Legend*, an edition of Mirk's *Festial*, founded upon a body of Saints' Lives made by James of Viraggio (1230-98), and Englished in 1438, a book often reprinted by Caxton and his successors. Caxton, who was himself a good scholar, knowing Latin and French as well as the Dutch tongue, tells us in the prefaces of his books something of his patrons (chief and most learned of whom he reckons Tiptoft, the Earl of Worcester), and of the difficulties he had in choosing books to be Englished for their behoof, and in translating them in such style as should content them. But his example was soon followed by other printers, such as T. Rood of Oxford, his rival, and the busy Wynkyn de Worde of Westminster, his successor. By the end of Henry VII.'s reign printing was firmly established in England. And that the "new art" was soon reckoned a power in the world is proved by the check held over the press by the Council and the Church, obliging the printer to get a *licence* for every book he wished to issue, and keeping strict watch to prevent the entry of foreign printed books without examination into the country.

9. The early printers, as Caxton tells us, after a little wavering, determined to make the *midland* dialect, the book English, the standard of speech, leaving the northern dialect to the poets and printers of Scotland, who used it for many a long year yet, and altogether passing over the southern

The English language changes in the fifteenth century.

dialect, which was never again to be used by men of letters. In the latter part of the fifteenth century English was undergoing a deep and broad change; it was dropping the inflections which made *Middle-English* such a tongue as German is now, and passing into the uninflected modern English tongue we now speak and write. But this striking change is disguised for us by the early printers who copied the hand-written books of the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth century, and used their spelling and inflections as a pattern. And this is how we get the final *mute* or *soundless* "e," and many other difficulties of our present spelling. There were other changes to come which would mark off the English of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries from that of the nineteenth century, but they were changes of *pronunciation* and *structure*, not of *substance*, like this change of the fifteenth century, which forms the true boundary between Middle and Modern English. It is to be noted that French ceased to be a spoken tongue in England in this century.

The following are bits of fifteenth century English :—

Northern Dialect, c. 1440.—*Saints' Lives*.

So gode and almus-gern thai ware : in all thair welthe and riche fare,

[So good and alms-free they were in all their wealth and rich fare],

That in thair hall stode ay redy : three bordes spred full menskfully,

[That in their hall stood aye ready three boards [tables] spread full *humanely*],

A borde pilgrimes for to fede : another to pouer that had nede,

[One board pilgrims for to feed, another to [for the] poor that had need],

And the thrid to faderles barnes : that help of fader & moder tharnes.

[And the third to [for] fatherless bairns, that help of father and mother *lacked*].

Midland Dialect, c. 1440.—*John Mirk's Festial*.

In the land of Surre [Syria] it is an usage that whan the gopel schal ben redde [read] anone [at once] iche knythe [each knight] that is in the chyrch drawyth hys swerde [sword] and so haldyth [holdeth] it styлле nakyd [bare] in hys hand, til it be done, in shewing [to show] that he is

redy [ready] to fyhten [fight] with any man that wold comyn and chalangen [come and challenge] anything that is redde in this gospel.

Book English, c. 1490.—Treatise on Fishing.

Also whosoo woll [will] use the game of anglynge, he must ryse erly, whiche thyng is prouffyttable to man in this wyse—That is to wyte [wit]—moost to the heele [health] of his soule, for it shall cause him to be holy; and to the heele of his body, for it shall cause him to be hole [whole]; also to thencrease of his goodys, for it shall make him riche.

In this last piece we have reached the tongue of More, Ascham, and Bouchier, and the style which reaches its highest level in the Bible of 1611.

10. During the early years of this century population increased till in 1500 it was about 4,200,000. For there being plenty to eat, no plague, and light taxes, while prices and wages were steady (save for the slight fall for a few years following the debasement of the coinage), the progress of the country and its happiness were not hurt by the wars abroad nor the struggle that followed them at home. And as Commynes the French historian noted, these Wars of the Roses caused no hurt save to those who were in the battles, for neither side could afford to risk its popularity by acts of plundering or oppression.

The English population in the fifteenth century.

WE have now reached a line of real division in English history, the line at which the Middle Ages, with their forms of life and thought, and their systems of church and state, land and labour, close; and the age of the New Learning and the New Faith, which are known as the *Renaissance* and the *Reformation*, is coming in to reshape and recast the life and thoughts of men. So deep is this dividing-line, that it is certain there was more in common between Ælfred and Edward I., or Dunstan and William of Wykeham, though severed by centuries, than between Edward IV. and Henry VIII., or Warwick and Wolsey, who are only a generation apart.

A Retrospect.

At such a place it is well to pause for a moment, and try to sum up in a few lines the story of England as far as it has been traced in these pages.

It begins with the English immigration—a set of small

tribes (each strongly knit within itself by personalities, but only held to its neighbours by the use of a common tongue) coming into a land and dealing (mostly in bitter warfare, it is true) with a people full of the traces of a higher civilisation than they, the new-comers, had hitherto known. After nearly three centuries of buccaneering and border warfare, the English tribes, having won enough land for their needs, are first stirred to new thoughts by the zeal of a few single-hearted Scottish saints, such as Aidan, Finan, and Fursay, and then happily drawn by the wise foresight of Gregory, Wilfrith, and Theodore into the fold of the mighty Western Church, "the nobler heir of Rome," to share in all its light and learning, and to feel and show forth in turn the benefits of that spirit of order and union and sympathy which were among its noblest gifts to the Teutonic peoples. The tribal governments, leaving behind them a living legacy of a habit of local self-government, now break up under the violent pressure of three successful foreign invasions, which weld the local "folks" of the English together with the incoming armies of Northmen, Danes, and Normans into one English people, with vigorous dynasties of kings and ministers at their head in church and state, and a central government strong enough to serve as the foundation of a constitution which was to keep England free and united through the changes and shocks of more than three hundred years.

With Henry II. English history takes a fresh start. England appears as part of a great empire loosely linked together by the family ties of the ruling house, and only held by deep statecraft, and the power of the spear and the bow, to swell the gains of the trader and the pride of the English people. But this close and constant bond between England and the Continent enabled the English to share more fully than they could otherwise have done in all the deep movements which make the most glorious period of the Middle Ages memorable. Englishmen fill high places in the roll of mediæval saints, churchmen, and philosophers, and Englishmen also take high rank among the chroniclers, poets, builders, artisans, and merchants of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The court of London and Bordeaux was only less brilliant than those of Paris and Italy, and the University of Oxford is the fairest daughter of the Schools of Paris round which the highest thoughts of the West centred for three hundred years. Again, it is to the reign of Henry II. that we must look to witness the first putting into force of those imperial claims of the English

kings which were not satisfied to the full till long after the days we are now dealing with, although for a few months Edward I. was the sole monarch of Great Britain and Ireland. However, the conquests of Ireland and Wales were as yet, it must be acknowledged, of greater import to the Irish and Welsh themselves than to England or Englishmen, and their whole results were not felt till a later time. But it must be kept clearly in mind that it is to Henry II., and his ministers Lucy and Glanville, that we owe the wise direction of the royal power through regular officers, and the fit ordering of a system of law which should carry with it the weight of the king's name, while keeping all that was worthy to be kept in the old system of local courts.

The constitution as left by Henry II. was further secured by that double bulwark of the charters which was raised by Robert Fitz Walter and Stephen of Langton, and made safe and sure for ages to come by the steadfast unselfishness of Simon de Montfort and the reasonable wisdom of his conqueror and pupil, Edward I. For it was Simon and Edward who, by due use of the fruitful principle of *representation*, turned the *Great Council* of the Elders into the *Parliament* of the Commonwealth, creating a body which should, as far as was practicable, reflect the feelings of the whole nation upon all matters of general concern. Very soon, in spite of the fierce passions of the ruling classes (which left such dark stains over the reign of Edward's own son), debate and arguments and votes replace the show of swords that carried the day at Runnymede, and the brutal violence which crushed William of the Beard. Liberties are bargained for at Westminster, till the savings of the poor buy from the king even the right to control and replace the officers of his own choice, and to refuse him the money he believed he needed to carry out his plans. It was in the reign of Edward's grandson that the Good Parliament reached the highest mark of constitutional progress attained in the Middle Ages. For though Richard II.'s attempt to put an end to the cruel jealousies of the royal house by getting a partisan parliament to grant him despotic power was ruinous to himself; yet, on the other hand, the constitutional pretences of the poverty-stricken Lancastrian kings could neither carry out any feasible reform nor check the dissensions of the nobles, nor prevent the government of the country from slipping, after the death of Henry VI., into the hands of a close and little controlled *Royal Council*,

composed of the king's friends. And, in fact, it was to this Council, rather than to Parliament, that at the close of the fifteenth century the nation looked for the enforcement of justice and the reform of church and state.

The causes of this palsy of Parliament, which was to make safe constitutional progress impossible for two hundred years, and to leave to the Long Parliament the task of taking up the work the Good Parliament had left half-done, are not far to seek. The whole power of the governing classes was wasted in glorious but futile foreign conquests, alternating with cruel and treacherous civil wars, till the nobles of England perished in their folly, and the headsmen's axe cut off the remnant which the sword had spared.

In the meantime, the governed classes, the artisan, the merchant, the yeoman, the tenant-farmer, the serf, were left alone to work out their own fortunes. The awful Black Death, which had seemed so relentless and cruel in its attacks, turned out in the end to have been one of the chief means of changing the old order of land owning and tilling for an easier system, and of making men in their own interests do tardy but needful justice to their fellows. The men who died for the bettering of the commons of England after Hurlingtide did not altogether perish in vain. The fifteenth century was happier for the poor man than the fourteenth, though the happy balance of causes which allowed of this prosperity was necessarily overthrown in the changes which came about at the outset of the Renaissance and Reformation.

The whole story witnesses to slow but steady upward progress. We have been trying to trace the birth and infancy of a great people. We have been, as the poet says—

“noting the efforts of heroes—

Is the deferment long? bitter the slander, poverty, death?

Lies the seed unrecked for centuries in the ground? lo, to God's
due occasion

Uprising in the night, it sprouts, blooms,

And fills the earth with use and beauty.”

The conclusion, too, must be that of the poet :—

“Roaming in thought over the universe, I saw the little that is good
steadily hastening toward immortality,

And the vast all that is called Evil I saw hastening to merge itself
and become lost and dead.”

GLOSSARY

Of certain less usual Words not explained in the Text.

Alien, an outlander or foreigner.
Anchorite, one dwelling apart to worship God.
Angevin, of Anjou.

Bail, security given to the judge by one man for another.

Bałas ruby, ruby from Badakshan.

Ballinger, a kind of ship.

Ban, proclamation under penalty.

Blackmail, tribute taken by force from a man's goods or chattels.

Brigands, armed robbers in gangs.

Brogue, an untanned hide shoe.

Buckler or *target*, a shield.

Bull, a sealed decree of the Pope.

Bullion, uncoined gold and silver.

Burgess or *burgher*, householder in a town.

Camlet, a kind of woollen stuff.

Carrack, a kind of large ship.

Castellan, the keeper of a castle.

Cell, house of an Irish saint.

Chapter, assembly of monks or canons.

Charger, war-horse.

Chine, a steep cleft on a cliff-side.

Client, a dependant, follower of a Celtic chief.

Colony, settlement in a conquered country.

Commissioners, a board of statesmen appointed for a special duty.

Coney, rabbit.

Coracle, a wicker-framed skin-covered boat.

Coronet, a nobleman's crown.

Cowl, the hood of a cloak.

Craver, a kind of small ship.

Crenelate, fortify.

Dirge, a funeral lament.

Fallow, land left unsown to rest for a season.

Feud, a fief.

—, a deadly quarrel.

Fief, land held by a freeman of his lord.

Float, the part of a flag furthest from the staff.

Forsworn, perjured.

Foss or *fosse*, a moat or ditch.

Franklin, freeholder.

Galantine, cold veal or other white meat in jelly.

Galley, a fast ship driven by long oars.

Gallow-glass, Irish guardsman clad in mail, armed with sword and axe.

Ghostly, spiritual.

Gild, a friendly or trade club or union.

—, a payment.

Governance, rule.

Gunwales, the top strakes of a boat.

Hackney, a nag.

Hawberk, neck-guard, a short mail-shirt.

Head-king, a king with other kings under him.

Headpiece, a helmet.

Henchman, a guard and familiar follower.

Glossary

Hide or *hyde*, portion of tilled land which would keep a household = 120 acres.

Hough, to hamstring.

Jeopard, to risk or hazard.

Joust, a mock fight with spears on horseback.

Justiciar, justice or judge.

Kennel, the gutter of the street.

Kerne, Irish foot soldier lightly armed with knife and darts.

Kirtle, a tunic.

Legate, a deputy sent by the Pope.

Lode-star, guiding-star.

Lugger, a boat with tall four-cornered sail on a cross-yard to each mast.

Magnus intercursus, great communication.

Mail, armour made of metal rings.

Malus intercursus, evil communication.

Manuscript, a writing done by hand.

Mark, 13s. 8d.

Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees.

Minster, abbey or cathedral church.

Mise, an award.

Moot, a court or council.

Nabuzaradan, the King of Babylon's chief cook.

Offices, the seven daily services of the Western Church.

Oust, to turn out.

Pageant, a show.

Paladin, champion of the king.

Pass, a narrow road over hills.

Phalanx, a massed array of pikemen.

Pinder, the keeper of a pound.

Pledge, to drink to the health of one.

Poitevin, of Poitou.

Pound, a fenced place in which strayed cattle are kept till ransomed by their owners.

Prime, a daily service of the Western Church.

Provincial, the native of a nation brought under Roman rule.

Rifle, to plunder violently.

Rueful, pitiful.

Samite, silk velvet.

Sanctuary, a legal place of refuge.

Schism, division or difference of opinion on a great point.

Scot-free, unpunished.

Seethe, to boil.

Shrine, the great case over the relics of a saint.

Squire, shield-bearer to a knight.

—, gentleman not yet knighted.

Stockade, a wall made of stakes of wood set close together.

Strand, shore.

Thegen, gentleman who serves the king.

Vassal, one holding land or office of another.

Viceroy, a king's deputy.

Western Isles, Hebrides.

Winsome, pleasant, lovely.

The Latin couplet, p. 164, may be thus Englished :—

" Gentlemen's sons, while young they be,
Are sent to France to get a degree!"

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INDEX.

THE arrangement is alphabetic, but a few headings, such as *Archbishops*, *Popes*, *Chroniclers*, are put in chronological order for the sake of the reader's convenience. Battles, sea-fights, sieges, will be found under the heading *Battles*.

The following abbreviations are used:—

A., Alderman; Ab., Abbot; Ap., Archbishop; A-P., Anti-Pope; Bp., Bishop; C.-J., Chief-Justiciar; Canc., Chancellor; Cant., Canterbury; Card., Cardinal; Ctss., Countess; D., Duke; Dss., Duchess; E., Earl; Emp., Emperor; I., Island; J., Justiciar or Judge; K., King; K. R., King of the Romans; M., Mayor; P., Prince; Pss., Princess; Pt., Priest; Q., Queen; S., Saint; Scot., Scotland; Tr., Treasurer.

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